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SKETCHES

OF THE

INSTITUTIONS,

AND

DOMESTIC MANNERS,

OF

THE ROMANS.

SECOND EDITION,

REVISED AND ENLARGED.

By H. D. Lamb.

“Romanos rerum dominos, gentemque togatam.”

VIRGIL.

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DEDICATION.

TO

MR. DE LA ROCHE,

DIRECTOR OF THE ROYAL COLLEGE AT CAEN, IN
NORMANDY, &c. &c. &c.

SIR,

THERE are but few occupations in which a man may be more worthily, or more honorably engaged, than in the education of youth; nor any, in which the conscientious discharge of its arduous and important duties, deserves more of public regard and private acknowledgment.

The distinguished manner in which you fill the situation of Superior of the great seminary over which you preside, entitles you to that large share of consideration which you

will no doubt admit, that they are neither few nor easily surmounted ; and he only trusts it may be recollected, that he professes to present but a mere outline, which may yet be filled up by some abler hand.

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SKETCHES
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CHAP. I.

ON THE CLASSIFICATION OF THE PEOPLE.

Classification of the Roman Citizens—Tribes—Curiae—
Patrician, Equestrian, and Plebeian Orders—Debtors—
Slaves—Form of Manumission—Freedmen.

IN the early ages of its history, while Rome was but small and thinly inhabited, whoever fixed their abode within its limits obtained the rights of citizens: even vanquished enemies were incorporated with the inhabitants, and the freedom of the city was granted to several foreign towns; but when the empire became more widely extended, and the dignity of a Roman citizen began to be more valued, this privilege was more sparingly conferred, and in different degrees, according to

the various merits or pretensions of the candidates. The citizens were divided into three *Tribes*, and each tribe into ten *Curiae*; but the number of tribes was afterwards augmented to thirty-five, and they were separately classed, in order to distinguish between the actual residents in the city, and those subjects of the commonwealth, who, although possessing the immunities of citizens, lived wholly out of town. They were thus disposed for the convenience also of military array, the public observance of religious ceremonies, and the order of deliberation when convened on affairs of state.

The people were at first only separated into two ranks—the patrician and plebeian; but the order of *Equites*, or knights, was afterwards added, and, at a still later period, the subjugation of foreign countries, combined with motives of internal policy, introduced slavery: the population was therefore composed of four classes—*Patricians*, *Knights*, *Plebeians*, and *Slaves*.

The *Patrician order* consisted of those families whose ancestors had been members of the senate in the earliest period of the regal, or consular government. Those among them who had filled any superior office were considered noble, and possessed the right of making images of themselves,

which were transmitted to their descendants, and formed part of their domestic worship. This right, in the Roman law termed *Jus Imaginis*, may be compared to that of our armorial bearings; only that, among the Romans, it was a distinction confined to rank, and a proof of ancestral dignity which could not be assumed by those who were not regularly entitled to it. Persons not belonging to this order, but who had been admitted to the curule-magistracy, acquired the privilege of having images of themselves; but were, nevertheless, termed new men, or upstarts; while those who did not possess it were deemed ignoble.

The *Equestrian order* arose out of an institution ascribed to Romulus, the supposed founder of the commonwealth, who is said to have selected one hundred young men from each of the tribes, to serve on horseback, as his personal guard. They were, at that period, divided into three *Centuries*, each distinguished by the name of its respective tribe; but the number being increased by successive kings, in process of time became unlimited; and, although they continued to be subject to military service, they ceased to be exclusively devoted to it, and were employed in various civil departments of the state, but especially in the collection of the revenue.

It has not been clearly ascertained at what period the knights became a distinct order, but it seems probable that they were so considered before the expulsion of the kings. They were at first supported at the public expense, and a tax was imposed on widows for the maintenance of their horses; but when they no longer formed a separate military corps, their services were not thus recompensed, and they merely received from the public a horse and a gold ring. They were chosen, indiscriminately, from the patrician and plebeian orders; and, indeed, towards the close of the Republic, every Roman citizen, possessed of a sum of 400 *sestertia*, or about 3,230*l.* sterling, was entitled to be enrolled among the knights.* The order, therefore, did not resemble that of modern knighthood; and became, in fact, finally, nothing more than a distinction arising from the amount of property, and constituting a middle rank in the state, somewhat analogous to our English gentry.

The *Plebeian order* was composed of the lowest class of freemen. Those who resided in the country were styled *Plebs rustica*; those who lived in the city, *Plebs urbana*; but the distinction did

* Tit. Liv. l. i. c. 30, 35, et 43; l. ii. c. 1; et l. v. c. 7.
Plin. Epist. l. i. ep. 19.

not consist in the name alone, for the former were considered as the most respectable. The plebs urbana consisted not only of the poorer mechanics and labourers, but of a multitude of idlers, who chiefly subsisted on the public bounty,* and whose turbulence was a constant source of disquietude to the government. They were under the guidance of leaders of their own class, who were in the pay of factious men of rank, and they appear to have borne a strong resemblance to that portion of the present population of Naples termed Lazzaroni. The exercise of the mechanical arts being looked upon, at Rome, as servile employments beneath the dignity of freemen, there was but little scope for

* This "*Public Bounty*" consisted in a donation of corn which was distributed monthly to necessitous citizens. The quantity is not certain: some writers have asserted that it amounted to five bushels per man, but it more probably was only five pecks, which was the allowance usually made to slaves; and this supposition gains strength from the contempt with which not only its acceptance, but its value, are mentioned by the classic authors. It was delivered to the bearers of transferrable tickets, in allusion to which Juvenal says—

"A vile corn-ticket be his fate at last."

Sat. vii.

And Persius—

"Each Publius, with his tally, may obtain
A casual dole of coarse and damaged grain."

Gifford, sat. v.

industry: nurtured, therefore, in idleness and beggary, they were needy and unprincipled; while the constant exhibition of public spectacles, and the combats of gladiators, gave them habits of licentiousness not unmixed with ferocity. Thus, the absence of moral restraint, combined with a sense of their own importance as members of the commonwealth, rendered them willing assistants in the most audacious conspiracies against the government; and their unbridled licence has been justly considered as one of the leading causes of the overthrow of the republic, and the extinction of liberty. But this only applies to the lowest class of the plebeians; many of the most estimable citizens were to be found in that order, and several rose from it to the chief offices, and the first dignities of the state.

Slaves were not entitled to any of the privileges of freemen; and, although forming a large portion of the community, they were not considered as citizens. They, in fact, possessed no political rights; were, by law, rendered incapable of acquiring property, or of giving evidence in a court of justice; and were viewed in no other light than as part of the chattel possessions of their masters.

Persons were reduced to that unfortunate condition either through the chances of war, or the

commission of crime; by sale; from bankruptcy; or in consequence of being born in a state of servitude. Those enemies who surrendered voluntarily retained their freedom; but those taken in arms belonged to the captors, and were usually sold on the field of battle. Free citizens could not legally dispose of themselves as slaves; but fathers were allowed to sell their children; insolvent debtors were given up to their creditors until their debts were satisfied; various offences were punishable by slavery; and the children of female slaves became the property of their masters, notwithstanding the father being a freeman.

Consistently with that ferocious spirit by which some of the early institutions of the Romans were characterized, bankruptcy was regarded as a crime. Whether occasioned by fraud imprudence, or misfortune, the laws equally ordained that insolvent debtors should be given up to their creditors, to be held in fetters until the debt was liquidated; and, although they did not thereby wholly forfeit the rights of freemen—which they might recover by the payment or remission of the claim—yet they were in actual bondage, and were often treated more harshly than even real slaves. Most commentators, indeed, insist that, when the claimants were numerous, they were authorised to put the debtor to

death, and to divide the members of his body. But although the enactment may be thus construed, yet the interpretation appears strained, and is not supported by any instance of such a power having been actually exercised. The ordinance seems, with greater appearance of probability, to refer to a compulsory division of the debtor's effects, which took place after he had been sixty days in confinement; but if the creditors were vindictive, and preferred punishing him corporally, they had a right to sell him.* To check these cruelties, and to curb the power of the wealthy and the rapacity of usurers, a law was passed early in the fifth century of Rome, by which it was provided, that

* The clause in the ancient law, on which the conjecture of the commentators is founded, is as follows:—"AST SI PLURES ERUNT REI, TERTIUS NUNDINIS PARTIS SECANTO: SI PLUS MINUSVE SECUERUNT, SE FRAUDE ESTO: SI VOLENT ULT TIBERIM PEREGRE VENUMDANTO:" i. e. "*Ast si plurunt erunt creditores, tertius nundinis, id est 27 die, corpus rei in partes secanto: si plus minusve secuerint, sive fraude esto: si malent trans Tiberim cum peregre venumdanto.*" Heineccius, *Hist. Jur. Civ. Rom. Lib. i. duod. Tab. paraphrasis Tab. iii.*—Gravinae oper. *Lib. ii. cap. 72. de Sententia, &c.*

It is difficult to conceive how the *fraud* here intended to be guarded against could refer to the dissection of the debtor's body; but it is easy to comprehend in what manner it might apply to the division of his effects.

debtors should not be kept in irons, or detained in the personal custody of their creditors. But this did not protect their property, or exempt them from imprisonment; and such was the severity with which the laws remaining in force were executed, that the people often rose tumultuously to demand their repeal, and even entire exoneration from their debts. This, however, was never fully conceded; but the time of payment was sometimes extended, or the amount was commuted; and, at one period, it was decreed, that three-fourths of the amount of all pecuniary obligations should be remitted.*

There was a constant market for slaves at Rome, and regular dealers in the trade of selling them. They were usually exposed to sale in a state of nudity, with a label on the neck descriptive of their qualities, and seem to have been transferred in much the same manner as cattle. Prisoners of war were disposed of by public auction, which was notified by a spear being set up at the place of sale.

We have no certain account of the usual price of slaves; and as their value must have depended on their personal qualifications, particular instances

* *Valeria Lex.* enacted in the consulate of Valerius Flaccus and L. Cornelius Cinna: A. R. DCLXVII.—Kennett, *Rom. Ant.* part ii. b. iii. ch. 35.—Rosinus, *idem.* lib. viii. cap. xx.

cannot be assumed as data on which to found an opinion. We are told, indeed, that captives were sold in the camp of the celebrated Lucullus, towards the close of the republic, for less than three shillings of our money, and Gibbon alludes to that fact as a proof of the little estimation in which they were held;* but it is obvious that it must have arisen from circumstances, independent of their general worth, for negroes were, even at that early period, imported from Africa, the mere cost of whose transport must have been considerable, and we know that slaves, who had been instructed in the arts, were often sold for large sums.

Masters possessed absolute power over their slaves: they might not only scourge, but even put them to death at pleasure; and this right was actually exercised with such inhumanity, that it became necessary to pass various laws to restrain it. Still, however, the legislature looked upon them with a jealous eye; and the enactments respecting them indicate great mistrust as well as harshness. One of these provided, that, if the master of a family was slain at his own house, and the murderers were not discovered, all his domestic slaves were liable to be put to death; and Tacitus records an

* *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, vol. i. ch. 2.

instance of four hundred having suffered in consequence in one family: other statutes breathed a similar spirit, and the torture was established by law.*

Notwithstanding the rigor of the laws with regard to slaves, and the general severity of their treatment, instances were not wanting in which the hardship of their lot was mitigated by the kindness of their masters; and it must be admitted, that many opportunities for emancipating themselves were afforded to those among them who were prudent and industrious. The law, it is true, declared them incapable of acquiring property in their own right, and consequently, of making a will: all they possessed belonged to their master: but this was not always enforced;† and, on the contrary, it became customary to give them a certain allowance, either in money or in grain, for their maintenance, out of which they frequently saved sufficient to purchase their freedom. They were even permitted to possess slaves themselves; and Cicero tells us, that those who were sober and well-conducted, seldom remained many years in bondage.‡ The prejudice entertained by the free

* Tacit. *Ann.* l. xiv. c. 43. Plin. *Epist.* l. viii. ep. 14.

† Plin. *Epist.* lib. viii. ep. 16. ‡ Cicero, *Phil.* viii. 2.

citizens against handicraft trades was greatly in favor of the slaves, as it tended to throw those branches of industry into their hands, and gave them advantages of which they knew so well how to avail themselves, that many of them, when liberated, amassed considerable wealth. Some, who displayed early talents, received an education which fitted them for literary employments, in which they seldom failed to obtain their freedom; and many were gratuitously emancipated as a reward for their services. The farm-slaves, however, but seldom participated in these favors: the nature of their employment deprived them of the opportunities enjoyed by those engaged in the more domestic duties, for rendering such services to their masters as would be most likely to excite their benevolence; and their vast number was an insurmountable impediment. Some rich individuals are said to have possessed many thousands,* and the legislature did not permit the emancipation of more than one hundred by one master. Forced, during the day, to cultivate the earth under the

* We have the authority of the Elder Pliny for the fact, that one C. Cec. Claudius Isidorus (a freedman) bequeathed to his heirs four thousand one hundred and sixteen slaves! notwithstanding, as his will declared, large losses which he had incurred in the civil wars.—*Nat. Hist.* lib. xxxiii.

inspection of superintendants, not the less rigid that they were not themselves free, they were fed on the coarsest fare, and, during the ruder ages of the republic, they were loaded with fetters, and immured, at night, in subterraneous dungeons, into which light and air were admitted only through an aperture in the roof; nor was their situation ameliorated until long after that period when the Romans are supposed to have attained the highest point of civilization.*

Although the severity of this treatment is not calculated to inspire an exalted idea of Roman humanity, it may yet admit of some palliation on the ground of policy; and, in our moral estimate of domestic slavery, as applied to that people, allowance must be made for the universality of the practice, which appears to have existed from the remotest antiquity. It prevailed among the Greeks during the period of their greatest refinement; and, in that country, which we are accustomed to regard as the parent state of civilization, the most revolting cruelties were practised on the Helots. Neither ought we to assimilate the present state of negro slavery to the form in which bondage ap-

* For minute particulars of the treatment of the farm-slaves, see Flor. l. iii. c. 19; Lucan. l. vii. 402; Columell. l. i. c. 7; Plin. l. xviii. c. 3; *et* ib. c. 6.

peared among the ancients; for, not only were many of the most elegant and useful arts of life practised solely by slaves, but their colour not, generally, differing from that of the free population, they were not barred from future incorporation among the citizens by that indelible mark which constitutes the most galling link in the chain of African servitude.

When slaves were manumitted, their heads were shaved, and they received a cap, as a badge of liberty, of which it has since become the emblem. They were also presented by their master with a white robe and an iron ring, and then assumed his name, which they prefixed to their own, and were ever after called his freedmen. The ceremony was performed in the presence of a magistrate, who recorded the act of manumission, and the master, then turning his former bondsman round and giving him a slight blow on the cheek, let him go, signifying that he was thenceforward free:—

“ See there that Dama! view a worthless slave,
Of knavish muleteers the veriest knave!
Let but his master one small turn bestow,
Plain Dama, straight, shall Marcus Dama grow.”

Owen's Persius, sat. v.

But the connexion between them and their former

master did not entirely cease: they remained in a certain state of dependance on him, and though no longer his slaves, became his clients: were he reduced to poverty, they were bound to contribute to his support; if they died intestate, he succeeded to their property; and any flagrant act of ingratitude to him was punished, as it merited, by their being degraded to their former condition.

By a law passed in the year of Rome, 761, if a freedman died worth 100,000 sesterces, or about 800*l.* sterling, leaving only one child, his former master became entitled to one half; if he left two, to one third; but if more, he was excluded.* This, however, was altered by Justinian; and when freedom was conferred by a testamentary act of the master, the slave was exonerated from all compulsory obligation to his heirs.†

* *Lex. Pappia.* Rosinus, *Antiq. Roman.* Lib. viii. c. xv.

† *Instit.* l. iii. tit. 8. *de Successione Libertorum.*

CHAP. II.

ON THE MAGISTRACY.

Form of Government—Assemblies of the People—Senators and Senate—Consuls—Consular Tribunes—Quæstors—Prætors—Censors—Tribunes of the People—Ædiles—Cul-re Magistracy—Lictors.

TRADITION describes the origin of the Roman Constitution as having been purely monarchical; but, essentially, it was more probably a military democracy, founded on the rude basis of a barbarous horde submitting for their common interest to the dominion of one chieftain, and, by encroachment on the neighbouring states, enlarging their territory and their power, until they gradually acquired the consistence of a nation, and assumed a regular form of government.

Even the kingly office appears to have been elective; and, at the earliest period of which we have any authentic record, the people possessed the right of not only choosing their own magistrates, but of deliberating and deciding upon affairs of state. This privilege was originally exercised in a general assembly of the Curix, thence

denominated the *Comitia Curiata*; but it being found, as the aristocracy acquired strength, that this popular form gave too much power to the lower orders, the population was classed, according to their property, in six divisions, and these being again divided into one hundred and ninety-three centuries, of which the first class contained ninety-eight, a majority of votes was thus secured to the wealthiest citizens. The assembly thus constituted was termed the *Comitia Centuriata*, and although it was, at first, only vested with a portion of authority, yet, as it gave the preponderance to the higher classes, it gradually superseded that of the *Curiae*.

During the rude age of the early monarchy, these assemblies were summoned by the sound of a horn, and the votes were given by acclamation; but at a later period they were convened in a more regular manner, and tablets were distributed to each voter, inscribed with the phrase appropriate to the adoption or the rejection of the proposition under consideration. They were presided by a magistrate of the highest rank, and, being too numerous for accommodation in any building, they were held in the open air, where, in an enclosure—called the *ovilia*—formed for the purpose, urns were placed to receive the tablets, and officers were

appointed to superintend the ballot. The question having been proposed, the auspices were consulted to ascertain whether it was the will of the gods that the Comitia should be held; and this ceremony, without which no public business was commenced, having been performed, and a favorable omen obtained, the centuries drew lots for the priority of voting, and were marched accordingly through the ovilia, where they deposited their tablets, and the decision being ascertained by a majority of votes, the assembly was dissolved. The meetings of the Comitia Curiata, however, were held in a large edifice erected for that purpose, and termed the *Comitium*. It was, in fact, the Town-Hall, where the inferior magistrates were elected, and much of the civic business was transacted; but these assemblies afterwards fell into disuse, and the form only being retained, the thirty curiæ were represented by so many lictors.

The senate was the great council of the empire. The senators were originally chosen from among the most distinguished citizens, and their number was then confined to one hundred; but it was afterwards gradually extended to a thousand, and the knights and plebeians were indiscriminately admitted. They were at first called *Patres*, as a title of the highest veneration and respect, and

their offspring *Patricii* ; whence the term *Patrician*. Those who were added to the original number were styled *Conscripti*, signifying that they were enrolled together with the *Patres*, and thence the title of “ *Conscript Fathers*,” by which it became usual to address them collectively. In the time of the later emperors, they individually acquired the distinction of “ most illustrious.” Augustus finally limited their number to six hundred.

The senators were anciently nominated by the kings, and after their expulsion, by the consuls and consular tribunes, subject however to the approbation of the people ; but, in the fourth century of Rome, this great power was vested in the censors, who thenceforward appear to have exercised it without control. Although persons of the plebeian order were eligible to the senate, yet no one could obtain that dignity who had been engaged in a mean occupation, or whose father had been a slave ; and, in the reign of Augustus, a fortune equal to about 10,000*l.* sterling was a necessary qualification. Certain offices in the magistracy, and some military services, also gave a title to admission ; and the dignity was, besides, conferred on some honorary members, who seem to have paid a sum of money to the public treasury on taking their seat. The amount of this fine is

uncertain, nor does it clearly appear whether it was paid as the price of the privilege, or merely as a fee on admission; but it probably was only a fee, as the younger Pliny distinctly mentions it under that head, and in amount not exceeding 60*l.* in some of the provincial senates: in Rome, however, it was, no doubt, much higher.* It is supposed, and with every appearance of correctness, that candidates were not eligible until they had attained their thirtieth year; but this is merely inferred from other analogous regulations, as history contains no positive information on the subject. The members could not be compelled to attend after sixty years of age.†

The senate was reviewed by the censors every fifth year; and if any member had rendered himself unworthy of that high rank by his conduct, or had sunk his fortune below the sum required by law, his name was omitted in reading the roll, and he was thus excluded. But if mere want of property occasioned his exclusion, he might regain his seat on the re-establishment of his affairs; and an appointment to any of the privileged offices in the state, might restore him, even when the cause of expulsion was more serious.

* Plin. *Epist.* l. x. ep. 113. † Plin. *Epist.* l. iv. ep. 23.

A remarkable instance in point occurred in the person of the celebrated historian Sallust, who was expelled for being engaged in an intrigue with a married lady, but recovered his senatorial rank on being made prætor. He was afterwards appointed governor of Numidia, where his conduct was so little in unison with his writings, that he acquired a large fortune by rapacity and extortion.

The ordinary assemblies of the senate were regularly held on the Kalends and the Ides—the first and thirteenth days of each month; the extraordinary meetings, whenever important business rendered them necessary; and members who neglected to attend on these occasions were subject to a fine. Each sitting was presided by some person of high rank in the civil service of the government; but although the first person named on the roll of senators was stiled Prince of the Senate, yet the office of president was not permanent, nor does it distinctly appear in what manner it was conferred. In most other respects, the mode of debating, voting, and passing decrees in the senate, appears to have borne a strong similitude to the proceedings in the British House of Commons; and even the custom of “coughing down” a prosing speaker was not unknown to that august assembly.

On the introduction of the republican form of government, in the third century of Rome, two *Consuls* were appointed, who were invested with power little short of regal authority, and were surrounded with the same state and dignity as the ancient kings. During peace they were the supreme heads of the civil administration, and in time of war they commanded the armies of the commonwealth. But they, in common with all other magistrates, only remained one year in office, and were afterwards amenable for any abuse of their power to the tribunal of a general assembly of the people; by a majority of whose suffrages they were also elected. They were, at first, chosen exclusively from among the patricians: but the plebeians were afterwards admitted; and, at a later period, it was ordained, that one of the two consuls should always belong to that order. The consular office retained all its powers until the overthrow of the republic by Julius Cæsar, in the commencement of the eighth century; it was then stripped of all real authority, and its duties were confined to convening the senate, and proposing laws for their consideration, with the superintendence of some inferior departments of the government. But the consuls still retained the semblance of rank; and even under the emperors they were attended with

all the pomp of their ancient dignity, until the abolition of the office, in the year 1293 of the Roman *Æra*.

The *Consular Tribunes*—or, as as they are more commonly styled, Military Tribunes with Consular power—were created about the year of Rome 310, in consequence of some dissensions in the state, to execute the duties of the consuls; but they were only occasionally elected, and the office was abolished within less than half a century.

The consuls were assisted in the execution of some of their duties by *Quæstors*, who accompanied them, when commanding the army, in the capacity of commissaries, and, during peace, were employed in the regulation of the revenue, and the usual departments of the Treasury. Their number was unlimited, and, depending solely on the occasions of the state for their services, was necessarily increased as the empire was extended.

The magistrates next in rank to the consuls were styled *Prætors*. Their duty consisted in superintending the administration of justice; and they were, in fact, the chief judges in all causes that did not fall under the immediate cognizance of the assemblies of the people, or of the senate. Their number varied at different periods, but for a long time consisted of six; two for the city, and four

for the provinces. The office, like every other under the republic, was elective; but, notwithstanding that its duties demanded an intimate acquaintance with the laws, it does not appear that a reputation for extraordinary legal knowledge, or even any previous practice in the courts, were deemed indispensable qualifications.

The *Censors* were at first appointed solely to keep a register of the number and fortunes of the people, to class them in their respective rank, and to inspect into their private conduct. We have already seen how far their power extended over the senate in the performance of the latter part of their duty; and it was equally unlimited over every individual of the community.

An enumeration of the whole population of Rome was made every fifth year, in a spacious plain, called the field of Mars, where the people were passed in review, and gave an account of their fortune, families, and occupations. On this occasion it was that the censors exercised the extraordinary powers with which they were entrusted; not only animadverting on those who appeared to merit reproof, but, if their conduct deserved greater severity, depriving them, if knights, of their public horses, or, if persons in a private station, of their privileges as Roman citizens. A

similar review took place in every other part of the empire, under the inspection of provincial censors.

However inquisitorial, and inconsistent with the spirit of freedom, such a tribunal may appear, it must yet be acknowledged that, in a political point of view, it must have been of the most essential importance to the government, as affording a clear view of the resources of the state; while, morally considered, it must have operated as a powerful check on public depravity and private vice. But the dissolute manners of the times, under the emperors, could not long support so strict an investigation, and the office was gradually abolished. The last census of the people was made in the year of Rome 827; but the duties, and even the title of censor, had then long ceased to exist. It was a situation of great power, as well as dignity; for, besides the vast influence which the uncontrolled exercise of such authority as that already mentioned must have in itself afforded, the censors had the management of the revenue, and, contrary to the usual custom, they remained five years in office.

Though not so elevated in rank as the preceding magistrates, those who possessed the largest share of influence, and real weight in the commonwealth, were the *Tribunes of the people*. They were appointed, soon after the establishment of the repub-

lic, in consequence of the defection of the plebeians, who, goaded by the oppression of the patricians, abandoned the city, and refused to return until magistrates should be appointed for their future protection, from among themselves. The senate, alarmed at a crisis which threatened such immediate danger to the state, yielded to their remonstrance, and appointed two tribunes, which number was increased to ten, and they were ever afterwards elected from the plebeian order. Their persons were inviolably sacred, even although they should be guilty of crimes which would otherwise render them amenable to the laws, and the act which granted them this immunity was not only declared to be irrevocable, but even the proposal of its repeal was deemed penal. Their power, indeed, would seem to have been merely preventive; for it was confined, by law, to the prohibition of such enactments as appeared to trench on the rights and liberties of the people, and their jurisdiction only extended over the city. But the defence of those rights afforded a plausible pretext, of which they were not slow of availing themselves, to control the imposition of taxes, the levying of troops, and, in short, every operation of the government. Although not permitted to take an active part in the debates of the senate, yet they were allowed to be

present, and by the single word "VETO"—could put a negative on any of its decrees. By a similar exertion of their authority they could also suspend the proceedings of all other magistrates. It was through their persevering exertions that their own order was admitted to a participation in public employments; but the influence which they at first employed to curb the power of the nobility, they afterwards used for their own aggrandizement, and they often joined in the exercise of that very tyranny which it was their chief duty to oppose. While the republic subsisted, their power contributed to preserve the balance of the constitution; but its exercise was incompatible with a monarchical form of government. Accordingly, when Augustus usurped the sovereignty, he was created tribune for life, and arrogated to himself all the real authority of the office; while to his colleagues, who continued, as formerly, to be annually elected, he left nothing but its rank, and minor duties.

Subordinate to the Tribunes of the People were two *Ædiles*—also elected from the plebeian order—whose chief duty was to inspect the markets, and to regulate the police of the city. To these, however, two more were afterwards added, with the title of *Curule Ædiles*, chosen from among the patricians, to superintend the public games and

temples; and their number was again increased by Julius Cæsar, who appointed two *Cereal Ædiles*—so named from the goddess Ceres—as guardians of the public granaries.

The *Curule-Magistracy*, to which allusion has been already made, was so termed from the seat which the chief magistrates occupied, on public occasions, being called a *curule chair*. This was only a stool, without a back, similar to our folding chair, and could be doubled together for the convenience of carriage; which was the more necessary as it accompanied the magistrate wherever he went. The seat was merely a piece of leather; but the frame was of carved ivory, or, at least, richly inlaid with it, and the feet were moulded at the extremities so as to resemble those of some animal.

The consuls, and all the chief magistrates, except the censors and the tribunes of the people, were preceded, in public, by a certain number, according to their rank, of officers of justice, called *Lictors*, each bearing on his shoulder, as the insignia of office, the *fascës* and *securis*, which were a bundle of rods with an axe in the centre of one end; but the lictors in attendance on an inferior magistrate carried the *fascës* only, without the axe, to denote that he was not possessed of the power of capital punishment.

The high, but casual office of Dictator, and those of the Decemvirate and Triumvirate, belong rather to the page of history than to this brief essay; and an account of the various inferior offices of the state would extend it beyond the limits to which it is confined. Of the Dictatorship, however, it may be proper to observe, that it was only created in cases of great public emergency, when it became necessary to vest the sole authority of government in the hands of one person, in order to avoid the collision of parties in the senate, and to procure the adoption of more prompt and decisive measures than might be expected from the counsels of a popular assembly.

CHAP. III.

ON JURISPRUDENCE.

Patrons and Clients—The Bar—Fees—Courts—Orations—
 Audience—Time of Pleading—Tribunals—Mode of Trial
 —Centumviral Court—Laws of the Twelve Tables—Jus-
 tinian Code, Pandects, and Institutes—Theodosian Code—
 Perpetual Edict—Gregorian and Hermogenian Codes—
 Criminal Law—Capital Punishments.

WITH a view to render the patrician and plebeian orders in some measure dependant on each other, and thus to cement their union for the common interest, it was ordained, in the very infancy of the state, that each plebeian should choose a patrician for his *Patron*, of whom he was then said to be the *Client*. The duty of the patron consisted in protecting his clients from oppression, in pleading their causes before the tribunals, and generally, in promoting their welfare: that of the clients, in rendering him such services, both personal and pecuniary, as might be in their power; but chiefly in aiding him with their votes and interest when he became a candidate for any public employment. This connexion, once established, usually

became hereditary; and being sanctioned by law, and strengthened by the attachment arising from long habit, and a sense of mutual advantage, was very rarely dissolved. It was, indeed, regarded in so sacred a light, that neither party was allowed to give assistance, or even evidence against the other; and thus, in the war of the Triumvirate, when all Italy had espoused the cause of Octavius, the city of Bologna alone demanded and obtained permission to remain neuter, in consequence of its having been under the protection of the family of Antony. This union continued undisturbed until the introduction of luxury changed, in some degree, its original principle: the distinction of ranks, and their relative duties, indeed, still remained; but the vast wealth and influence acquired by some of the patricians, attached multitudes of interested clients to them, among whom many of their own order did not blush to enrol themselves; and what was formerly the cordial intercourse of reciprocal services, became that of sordid flattery and haughty superiority: This system of patronage was carried so far, that when the republic had attained extended empire, cities and whole provinces chose patrons at Rome, who attended to their interests in the senate, and whose services were requited with presents of great value.

The bar was so distinguished as a profession, that many Romans of the highest rank acted as pleaders, and consecrated their talents to the gratuitous service of their fellow citizens. This custom was as old as the time of Romulus, who imposed the defence of his clients upon the patron, without allowing him to accept of any remuneration that could be considered as a fee. But this apparent liberality of the patrons was not altogether disinterested: it was, in fact, the instrument of their ambition; for employments in the state being conferred, during the republic, by general suffrage, the clients repaid with their votes the obligation they had incurred. This first received a check by the introduction of the ballot; and as votes could be no longer depended upon, it, in process of time, became customary for clients to make an annual present to their patron. The body of the people having thus become tributary to the senate, a law was passed, about the year 594 of the city, which prohibited senators from receiving any present whatever from their clients, and particularly, any kind of remuneration for acting as counsel in a court of justice.

At length, when the emperors deprived the people of the right of electing their own magistrates, the chief motive which actuated patrons in the

gratuitous exertion of their abilities ceased; and their former clients being thus deprived of legal advice, the practice of the law necessarily became mercenary, and was thenceforward followed as a profession, for profit. The mere lawyers, however, placed so high a value on their assistance, that it became necessary to fix bounds to their rapacity; and they were not allowed to accept of more than certain specified fees, under penalty of being considered guilty of extortion, which subjected them to a forfeiture of four times the amount. The maximum of these fees was at first fixed at 10,000 sesterces—about 80*l.* sterling. But this wholesome regulation was evaded: a swarm of venal pettifoggers—the pests of society—fomented law-suits for their private advantage, and carried their depredations on the public so far, that they attracted the notice of the senate; and, in the reign of Trajan, a decree was passed obliging the parties in every cause to make oath, before it was tried, that they had neither given nor promised any gratification to their advocates; permitting them, however, to remunerate them after judgment was obtained. This edict was not intended to deprive the lawyers of the just fruits of their labours, but was a necessary check on the mercenary cupidity of knaves, whose exactions brought disgrace on an otherwise

honorable profession. It did not prevent barristers of eminence from accumulating very large fortunes : the younger Pliny mentions one Regulus, who, notwithstanding he lived in great splendor, and was not, it would seem, much indebted to the goodness of his character, realized a sum equivalent to *four hundred thousand pounds of our money*.* Nor, if the accusation of Persius be not unfounded, were they very delicate in the mode of acquisition :—

“envy not the sordid gains,
Which recompense the well-tongued lawyer’s pains ;
Though Umbrian rusticks, for his sage advice,
Pour in their jars of fish, and oil, and spice,
So thick and fast, that, ere the first be o’er,
A second and a third are at the door.”

Gifford, sat. iii.

The numerous retainers of the patrician pleaders, —some of whom continued, notwithstanding the general venality of the bar, to defend their clients without any other reward than the consciousness of doing good, and the pleasure of rendering service—together with the curiosity of the idle, usually occasioned the courts to be thronged with auditors, who canvassed the decisions of the judges with great freedom. On occasions of public interest--

* *Epist. lib. 11. ep. xx.*

as, when a magistrate was accused of malversation, of having trenched upon the liberty of his fellow citizens, or of having abused his power,—the great square of the forum, where the halls of justice were situated, scarcely sufficed to contain the multitude. Each citizen, looking upon himself as a member of the same great family, was zealous in support of the common rights, scrutinized with jealous watchfulness into the conduct of their rulers, and looked with anxious solicitude to the issue of the cause; while, on the other hand, the friends and kindred of the accused, no less interested in procuring his acquittal, attended, in deep mourning, to second the efforts of his advocates by their solicitations in his behalf.

The harangues delivered on such occasions were prepared with the most studious care, and became the subject of compliment and congratulation to those who delivered them. Those which have been preserved are models of perspicuity, force, and elegance, and the evidence of contemporary authors shows, that forensic eloquence was not confined to those with whose orations we are acquainted.

The auditory were accustomed to applaud any particularly striking passage, and young barristers, emulous of similar approbation, used to hire an audience for the purpose; but the fellows of whom

it was composed, seldom comprehending where to bestow their commendations, and sometimes mistaking the concerted signal, were often loudest in their acclamations when they were least deserved, and Pliny shrewdly remarks, that the worst speakers were usually hailed with the warmest plaudits.*

Whether from excess of business in the courts, or of prolixity in the pleaders, the judges found it expedient to limit the speeches of counsel to a given time, which they fixed, at their pleasure, *before the cause was opened*. To us it must appear equally presumptuous and unjust to set bounds to the examination of a question ere its full extent had been ascertained, and even in Rome the custom was censured; yet, such was the invariable practice; and, as the indulgence of the court extended the time whenever it was particularly required, it does not appear to have occasioned any flagrant injustice.

There were various tribunals for the trial of civil and criminal actions, and a court of equity for the decision of causes that were not restricted by any fixed law. Trial by jury, as established with us, was not known; but the mode of judging in criminal cases seems to have nearly approached it.

* Plin. *Epist.* l. ii. ep. 14.

A certain number of senators and knights, or other citizens of high consideration, were annually chosen by the prætor to act as his assessors; and of these, some, but how many does not appear, were appointed to sit in judgment along with him. They decided by a majority of voices, and returned their verdict either *guilty*, *not guilty*, or *uncertain*; in which latter instance the cause was deferred: but if the votes for acquittal and condemnation were equal, the culprit was discharged; or, according to some authors, his fate was then decided by the prætor. There were also judges, called *Centumviri*, to the number, at first, of one hundred, and afterwards of one hundred and eighty, who were chosen equally from the thirty-five tribes; and from among these the parties mutually, or, if they could not agree, the prætor, chose one, or more, to whom the cause was referred. In cases of great importance, one-fourth, and sometimes the whole body of the centumviral court sat in judgment, presided by the prætor; but no denizen of Rome could be capitally punished, or even subjected to corporal chastisement, except with the consent of the general assembly of the people; and the severest decrees of the magistrates were often checked by the simple exclamation, "I am a Roman Citizen!" The *Centumviral Court* was anciently one

of the highest judicature, and corruption in the judges was punishable with death; but in later times its jurisdiction appears to have been confined to cases of wills and inheritances, and the capital punishment to which the laws subjected corrupt judges was commuted into a fine.

The ancient laws were generally the result of momentary emergency, and were in most cases inapplicable to future circumstances. Those attributed to Romulus, and the other early legislators, were rather intended to restrain the violence of men in a semi-barbarous state, than to regulate the clashing interests, and control the passions, of a civilized people. Those of the subsequent kings, had chiefly for their object the maintenance of monarchical authority, and were ill calculated to the republican form of government which followed; yet, the patricians contrived to retain those which favored their own order, and their influence procured the enactment of others which promised to secure to them the possession of arbitrary power. But the unanimous voice of the people called for some fixed and more appropriate code; and about the year of Rome 299, ambassadors were sent to Greece to collect the laws of that wise and polished people. At their return, these were embodied with some of those previously in force among the Ro-

mans themselves, and engraved on twelve tablets of brass, whence they were called the *laws of the twelve tables*,* and, during a long period, constituted the entire of their statutes. However, in the lapse of successive ages such a variety of new enactments were added, that they became intricate and obscure; and, although some ineffectual efforts were made to reform them, it was not until the reign of the emperor Justinian, in the early part of the sixth century of the Christian æra, that they were classed, and reduced into a form which obtained the name of the *Justinian Code*: but this being found defective, it was revised, and republished about six years afterwards. A digest of these edicts was comprised in fifty books, termed *Pandects*; and the elements of Roman jurisprudence were at the same time composed and published under the title of *Institutes*; to which a supplement was added, called *Novels*, and the whole formed the body of the Roman law.

A similar attempt had been previously made by

* Ten only of these tables were at first promulgated, and they were engraved on oak. Dionys. Halic. lib. iii. ep. 178. The whole were exposed in the Forum, and were destroyed about sixty years afterwards, in the conflagration of the city, by the Galls. Copies of the laws were, however, partially recovered, and a considerable number of them are still in existence.

the Emperor Theodosius; but the collection of laws published under his authority, and known as the *Theodosian Code*, contained only the imperial ordinances for little more than the previous century, and the greater part of these are now lost. At a still earlier period, a collection of laws had been compiled, and promulgated by the emperor Hadrian, as the *Perpetual Edict*; and the *Gregorian* and *Hermogenian Codes*—so called from the lawyers who arranged them—were published in the reign of Constantine; but the former had already become obsolete before the invasion of the Goths, and of the latter only a few fragments remain.*

The Roman code, thus corrected and matured, appears to have been founded on a comprehensive view of the laws of nature adapted to a state of civilized society, and applicable alike to all times and governments: hence it survived the barbarism of the middle ages, and became the universal law of Europe; and, although it has been superseded, in many instances, by municipal regulations, and in this country by what is termed the common law, it yet serves as the basis of the great structure of the law of nations, and is still acknowledged in our courts of civil judicature.

* Heineccius, *Hist. Jur. Civ. Rom. lib. 1. cap. v.*

There was but little peculiarity in the criminal law to distinguish it from similar modern institutions, except that it was marked by still greater severity, and a somewhat sterner regard to morals, as well as justice: thus adultery, which, in this polished age, only exposes the offender to a civil action, was by the Romans, as well as the ancient Jews,* punished corporally; and some minor breaches of public decorum, of which the law does not now take cognizance, were then within the jurisdiction of the magistrates. The *Lex Talionis*, which also formed part of the Mosaic law,† and which ordained [the requital of a personal injury by a similar infliction on the offender, was in force according to the enactments of the twelve tables, but the penalties were afterwards commuted into pecuniary fines.‡ Forgery was not punished with death, unless the culprit was a slave; but freemen guilty of that crime were subject to banishment—which deprived them of their property and privileges—and false testimony, coining, and some of those lesser offences which we term misdemeanors, exposed them to public reprobation, or to a sentence of interdiction from the use of fire and water,

* Leviticus, *ch.* xx. *v.* 10. Deuteronomy, *ch.* xxii. *v.* 22.

† Exodus, *ch.* xxii. *v.* 23. and 25.

‡ Justin, *Inst. lib.* iv. *tit.* iv.

or, in fact, an excommunication from society which necessarily drove them into exile.*

The capital punishments consisted in beheading, strangling, or precipitation from the Tarpeian rock, attended with the additional, and apparently unnecessary cruelty of previously scourging the malefactor. But parricides were not only looked on with that horror with which they must be regarded in every state of society, but, from the high regard in which the filial duties were held, the crime was visited in a manner peculiar to itself, which consisted in securing the wretched offender in a sack, together with a dog, a cock, a viper, and an ape, and then throwing them into the nearest river to be thus drowned †: a singular punishment, which probably originated in some allegory or superstition, with the meaning of which we are unacquainted. Slaves, when capitally convicted, were crucified, until the reign of Constantine the Great, when that mode of execution was abolished.

* Justin. *Inst. lib. iv. tit. xviii.*

† *Ibid.*

CHAP. IV.

ON PARENTAL AUTHORITY.

Power of Parents over their Children—Exposition—Foundling Hospitals—Emancipation—Sale—Gradual Restriction of Parental Authority—Clans—Names—Adoption of Children—Manner and Progress of Education.

In all uncivilized states, the most unlimited power appears to have been exercised by parents over their children. The barbarous custom of exposing them was common among the ancients, and was established by law, at Sparta, by Lycurgus. There, when a child was born, it was visited by the elder of each tribe, and if upon examination it was found well-formed and vigorous, they ordered that it should be reared ; but, if it appeared weak or deformed, it was either immediately destroyed, or exposed on the highway to the casual charity of the passing stranger. Such was also the practice of the ancient Romans. But, so far from rendering it imperative on parents to expose their children, in any case, their right to do so was restricted until the infant had attained

the age of three years; in the double hope, that both the child, and their affection for it, might, in that time, acquire strength sufficient to avert the fate which otherwise awaited it. This humane law, although confirmed by those of the twelve tables, was, however, continually evaded; and although absolute child-murder was not, perhaps, often committed, yet the exposition of infants was customary at Rome, not only during the early period of its history, but for many succeeding ages. But, that this unnatural practice was rather prompted by the pressure of indigence than by any worse motive, may be presumed from the facts, that the children were usually exposed in those places where they would be most likely to attract observation and to excite compassion, and that care was generally taken to affix some mark to them by which they might be afterwards recognised.

Notwithstanding that infanticide was not criminal in the view of the law, it has been thought probable that Rome at an early period contained foundling hospitals for the reception of deserted children. Mention is made of such houses in the Justinian Code; and that orphans were provided for by the state, as well as by charitable individuals, has been proved by the discovery of an ancient document ~~that was discovered~~ in the neighbour-

hood of Placentia, in the year 1747. This curious relic of antiquity—which consists of a ponderous copper tablet, five feet in height, and ten in breadth—contains an inscription of more than six hundred lines, purporting that the emperor Trajan had laid out a capital of 1,044,000 sesterces, on mortgage at five per cent. interest, which was to be divided monthly, among two hundred and forty-five boys, and thirty-four girls, born in wedlock, and two illegitimate children belonging to the community of Velleia. The same tablet also records a bequest, by one Cornelius, of a smaller amount, for a similar purpose; but it makes no allusion to orphan-houses for the reception of the children, nor of the manner in which the money was to be applied.

In all other respects, the authority with which the Roman laws invested parents was unbounded. Fathers were not alone empowered to exact the services of their children in what manner they pleased, and to punish their disobedience by corporal chastisement, but also to imprison them, to sell them, and even, in cases of gross misconduct, to put them to death. They were, in fact, their masters, and their judges, and could dispose at pleasure of their persons, and property. Nor was their dominion over them confined to the age of

childhood, but extended to every period of their lives; except, indeed, that the earnings of a son in the army, or at the bar, were beyond their control, and that daughters were emancipated from it by marriage. The power of a father over his son was, in fact, still more absolute than that of a master over his slave; for the latter could be only once sold, and if afterwards liberated, he was then for ever free. But, paradoxical as it may appear, the laws of the twelve tables ordained that a son might be sold three times: for, if freed by the person to whom he was first transferred, he reverted to his father, and it was not until he had been thus thrice sold and emancipated, that he obtained his final liberty. His children also, partaking of his condition, were equally subjected to the authority of their grandfather; and thus the power of the father himself yielded to the superior dominion of his own parent.

In compliance with this extraordinary ordinance, when a father chose to emancipate his son, he made a formal sale of him three different times, and repurchased him as often, in the presence of a magistrate and five witnesses, attended by an officer of justice holding a brazen balance. Before these, the natural father gave over his son to the presumed purchaser, who struck the balance with

a brass coin, and paid it to the father as the price : he then manumitted the son in the usual form of liberating slaves. This was thrice repeated : but, after the last sale, the purchaser, instead of manumitting him, which would have conferred a right of patronage upon himself, resold him to the father, who then finally liberated him. The young man was thenceforward his own master ; but the profits, or interest, of half his property belonged to the father, who was also his heir, if he died intestate, and the legal guardian of his children after his decease.

This form of sale—*by brass and balance*, as it was termed—took its rise from the mode in use among the early Romans, who, having no coined money, used to weigh the brass which constituted their circulating medium. It was continued during many centuries : but the formalities being found inconvenient as well as absurd, the emperor Anastasius I. at length decreed, that the rescript of the emperor should be sufficient for all the purposes of emancipation ; and Justinian finally ordained that it should only be necessary for a father to declare, before any competent magistrate, that he freed his son from his power.

There is, indeed, reason to suppose, that some restraints were imposed on the exercise of this

arbitrary power, even in the time of the republic; there certainly were by the emperors; and, indeed, the existence of such absolute authority, in the hands of individuals, seems to be incompatible with the spirit of monarchical government. At a very early period, the right of selling male children was restricted to the unmarried sons, lest married free-women should be reduced to slavery through the necessities, the caprice, or the inhumanity, of their fathers-in-law. Trajan emancipated a son who had been ill-treated by his father; and Hadrian banished a father who had killed his son on a bare suspicion of his having committed adultery. From that time, the dominion of fathers over their children was daily diminished. They gradually lost the power of life and death, and then that of selling them. The latter, it is true, was permitted so late as the reign of the first Constantine; but it was only allowed in cases of pressing necessity, and was confined to children newly born. The continuance of it, even under that restriction, appears to have been admitted more with a view to guard infants from destruction by necessitous parents, than as an acknowledgement of the right; and the same law obliged the purchaser to restore the child to liberty, at any further period, on repayment of the sum for

which it had been sold. But notwithstanding these safeguards, the permission was abused, and was, in consequence, finally abolished in the same reign; Constantine, to avoid all future pretext for it, ordaining at the same time that indigent parents should be supported at the public expense. The unnatural custom of exposing children was also prohibited under severe penalties; but the precise period when it actually ceased to be practised does not appear; and that it was not abolished without difficulty may be inferred from the same prohibition having been renewed, with additional severities, by several succeeding emperors.

Although history contains some revolting instances of the abuse of the powers with which fathers were invested, it yet does not appear that the natural law of parental affection was generally transgressed. It must be admitted, also, that the dependance in which children were held, served to nourish that filial piety of which Rome furnished so many striking examples; that it was a strong inducement to parents to attend to the education of their offspring, and to watch over their conduct in more mature life; and, that it tended to the maintenance of order in families, and of subordination in the state. That mothers were not allowed to participate in the fathers' prerogative, was the con-

sequence of their own dependance on their husbands; and also, we must suppose, of that softness of disposition which would have rendered the exercise of such stern authority impossible to their gentler nature.

Boys were named on the ninth, and girls on the eighth day after their birth: but they then only received the family patronymic; the pre-name, or, as we should term it, the baptismal, or christian-name, was not bestowed on the former, until they had attained their seventeenth year, nor on the latter, until they were about to be married; and indeed, at a more recent period, females did not receive any pre-name. When there were two daughters in a family, they were merely distinguished as the elder and the younger; but if more, they were named, according to the order of their birth,—*Secundilla*, *Tertulla*, *Quartilla*—the numbers being always, in such case, used in the diminutive, for the greater tenderness of expression; and sometimes the name also, as *Tulliola* for *Tullia*. When married, they retained the name of their family, and did not adopt that of their husband.

Those great families among the Romans who traced their origin to one common ancestor, were considered as belonging to the same *Gens*, or

Clan; but they did not, on that account, bear the same name alone as the parent stock from which they were descended. The acknowledged kindred of a Gens were denominated *Gentiles*, as a recognition of the alliance; and as it denoted an honorable descent, and the pride of ancestry prevailed in a very high degree, it was a distinction held in much respect: the appellation, indeed, still retains both its ancient signification and importance, in the modern title of *Gentleman*; of which it is evidently the origin.

They had two, or three, and sometimes, even four names: the *pre-name*,—*name*,—*surname*,—and an additional title which they termed the *agnomen*.

The pre-name, which, as we have already observed, corresponded with our christian-name, was seldom written at full length; the initial letter alone being used, or, at most, the first syllable, if it consisted of more than one. The pre-names of females were distinguished from those of men by the initials being inverted; by which expedient the confusion was obviated that must otherwise have arisen from the similarity of the male and female appellatives, which seldom differed except in the termination.

The name was that of the original family, or

gens: and the sur-name,—which, in its origin, was a title, or honourable distinction, and sometimes a mere nick-name,—denoted the different branches of the same house.

The agnomen was personal to the individual who bore it, without reference to his family, and was usually conferred as a reward for some memorable action: thus the two Scipios were, in consequence of their military services, called, the one Africanus, and the other Asiaticus. This distinction was, however, afterwards much abused; for, notwithstanding that it could only be granted by the senate, and was so highly valued, that even the emperors were ambitious of acquiring it, yet was it frequently bestowed without any regard to merit.

The Romans also inserted their public employments and dignities, and frequently, even their tribe, among their names. The title of the latter was feminine, and was placed between the name and the sur-name; but lest it should be mistaken for a sur-name, or the name of a female, they distinguished it, in writing, by a different size, or form, of the character. They, sometimes, had two sur-names; or rather, the name of one family, and the hereditary sur-name of another: this occurred in cases of adoption; and when strangers

became citizens of Rome, they usually took the pre-name and name of him who had procured them that privilege. Slaves also, when liberated, added the name and pre-name of their master to their own sur-name.

The adoption of children was very general among those who were themselves childless; and, as they became the legal heirs of their adoptive fathers, so, these acquired over them all the rights of paternity. The adopted person took the name of the family into which he was received, in addition to his own; thus preserving some trace of his real origin, while he became identified with his new connexions.

There were three distinct modes of adoption: *simple Affiliation*, that called *Arrogation*, and *Testamentary Adoption*; each of which was accompanied with certain forms to render it valid.

The first was resorted to on the adoption of a minor, and was effected by a fictitious sale from the real to the adoptive parent, in the same manner as in cases of emancipation.

Arrogation regarded those who, being their own masters, voluntarily submitted themselves to the authority of him who adopted them; but for this the consent of the people was requisite, and it was demanded by a public notification.

Besides these forms, three other conditions were essential to give effect to either of those acts:—that the adoptive father should be at least eighteen years older than the son, and that he should both be without children of his own, and without reasonable hope of having any; that neither honor, religion, the domestic worship or peculiar sacrifices of the two families, should receive any attain by it; that it was without fraud, or collusion; and, that it had no other object than the apparent one of a bona fide adoption. The consideration of these conditions belonged to the college of Pontiffs, and if they approved the demand, it was at once admitted in the case of simple affiliation, and referred to the general assembly of the people in that of arrogation; but the emperors took this right into their own hands, and extended it so far as to give permission of adoption to women who were childless.

Testamentary adoption was nothing more than the bequest of a man's inheritance and name; but even this required to be confirmed, by the Prætor in the testator's life-time, or by the people after his death.

Various reasons contributed to render adoption more frequent among the Romans than among any other people: one, was the desire, and even

the sacred obligation, of perpetuating the private worship and distinctive sacrifices belonging to their families; another, the privileges enjoyed by fathers, which attached equally to those having adopted, or legitimate, children; and lastly, among the patricians, was the eligibility to the important office of tribune of the people, from which they were excluded unless they had previously passed, by adoption, into the plebeian order. The two latter motives gave occasion for many collusive adoptions, for interested purposes. We may readily conceive that it could only have been a mere matter of form when a patrician was adopted by a plebeian: but it was also resorted to at the approach of the elections for public offices, to qualify those who, being without children, could not otherwise have entered into competition with fathers of families; and once their object was thus attained, they emancipated those whom they had adopted. This abuse, however, received a check in the reign of Nero, in consequence of a remonstrance from the real fathers, who complained, with great justice, that they who had suffered all the anxious cares of paternity, were frustrated of their rights by the fraudulent intervention of men who suddenly acquired the title of parent, without fulfilling any of its duties, or feeling any of its solicitudes.

The mode of education generally adopted at Rome, varied, at different periods of the republic, according to the changes which the manners of the people underwent through the introduction of commerce and the sciences, and the progress of luxury and refinement. While war and agriculture formed the chief occupations, it had little other object than the attainment of those arts, and was wholly achieved under the paternal roof; every father being then capable of instructing his sons in the use of arms and the practice of husbandry, and every mother conveying to her daughters, in her own example, those practical lessons of house-wifery to which their simple acquirements were confined. Even those young men whose rank entitled them to aspire to civic honors, required but little previous instruction to enable them to fulfil the duties of the magistracy. There were but few written laws before the promulgation of those of the twelve tables, and these the most simple and definite; but suited to that rude state of society in which most of its members were, unacquainted with the arts of reading and writing, and in which the limited nature of property gave rise to but little collision of interests. But when an intercourse with the Greeks had inspired the people with a taste for the fine arts,

and the accumulation of wealth had diffused its attendant polish over their habits of life, then arms and the sciences were equally cultivated; a more liberal form of education was adopted; and public schools were opened for the reception of the youth of both sexes.

It was a maxim with the Romans, that education should keep pace with the progress of intellect from its earliest dawn: instruction, therefore, commenced the moment children gave signs of comprehension. At this period, they were confided to the care of some matron of the family, whose chief duty it was, to watch over their growing passions, and to correct them; to direct their inclinations; and to give them habits of order and obedience. As they advanced in age and reason, their instructress inculcated the precepts of morality, and, above all, endeavoured to inspire them with the principles which formed the true character of the Roman citizen—veneration for the gods; submission to parents; attachment to the constitution, and the cause of liberty; and love of their country. The boys were then instructed in literature at some public seminary; and as they grew towards manhood, they were habituated to all the athletic exercises that could impart agility or grace, and fit them for the profession of arms.

Eloquence, and the military art, were the surest roads to preferment; and the character of an able orator, or soldier, led to the first dignities of the state. They placed these qualities nearly on a level, this, as defending the republic from its enemies abroad, that, as providing for its security at home; and, as every citizen was required to serve his country in the field, they were equally cultivated by all those who aimed at the superior offices of the state. Therefore, while the military exercises were practised in the Campus Martius, eloquence was taught as a science, at public schools, where composition and declamation were studied in both the Greek and Latin languages. The study of the Greek was not only fashionable, but was considered as, in some measure, necessary in a country which had derived its literature from Greece; and it is remarkable that, although Latin was spoken throughout the foreign possessions of the Roman Empire, it never became the exclusive language of all Italy, in the southern provinces of which the Greek continued predominant until long after the fall of the Western Empire. It was, therefore, usual with persons of high consequence, to entertain some Grecian man of letters in their house for the instruction of their children, and to allow him to receive pupils from among the young nobility. It was also customary for young men of rank to

complete their education at Athens; or at Marseilles, which at that period contained a very learned university.

When the period allotted to the studies of youth had elapsed, and they were introduced into society, young men of family were placed under the protection of some senator of distinguished reputation for his knowledge of jurisprudence. Although not considered as a preceptor, he afforded them the benefit of his advice and example, and under his auspices they were initiated into public business, and acquired a practical knowledge of the laws; or they were sent to the armies, and there, in the capacity of cadets, instructed in the duties of the camp, and inured to the hardships of war.

The education of females, also, became an object of equal attention. No longer confined to subjects of domestic economy, it extended to both Greek and Latin literature, and the cultivation of every grace and talent with which the sex is so eminently gifted. Formed to embellish life, no sooner were women emancipated from the trammels of domestic slavery, in which they had been held, than they acquired an influence—more felt, indeed, than acknowledged—which gradually refined the manners of the men, and shed its lustre over society; while, availing themselves of the sources of infor-

mation newly opened to them, they successfully improved their own natural powers of intellect, and many Roman ladies made a distinguished figure in the republic of letters.

Such were the cares which the Romans bestowed upon the education of their youth ; and hence the number of truly great men, and eminent women, which Rome has produced, and the virtues by which they were adorned, during the brilliant æra of the republic. Happy if their history could be closed with that epoch : but the tide of luxury which was afterwards admitted, swept away every vestige of the morality of conduct and real dignity of manners, the simple elegance and social intercourse of domestic life, by which they had been distinguished ; and introduced a train of debasing vices, a frothy superficial deportment, with a vulgar ostentation, and disgusting profusion, accompanied by the meanness ever attendant on prodigality. The accounts transmitted to us of the luxury of Rome, during the latter reigns of the emperors, may excite our astonishment, but can neither command our respect, nor admiration ; and if we sympathize in her fall, it is because the refulgence of her ancient glory throws a ray of illusive brightness over the gloom of her final degeneracy.

CHAP. V.

ON RELIGION, AND THE MINISTERS OF
WORSHIP.

Heathen Mythology—Philosophers—Introduction of Christianity—Temples—Oratories—Mode of Worship—Festivals—Superstition—Augurs—Aruspices—Astrologers—Magic—Pontiffs—Priests—Vestals—Sibylline Books—Sibylls—Sacrifices.

THE religion of the Romans consisted in unbounded polytheism. Every virtue, and even every vice—every real property of the material, and every fancied quality of the imaginary world—every faculty of the mind and power of the body, was presided over by its peculiar deity. Not only did they adore those ideal beings which they clothed with the majesty of supreme power, but every sage who by his writings or example had contributed to the instruction, and every hero who had signalized himself in the service of his country, was elevated to the dignity of the godhead; and no mountain, grove, or stream, was without its attendant divinity. Thus their mythology was composed of an heterogeneous mixture of celestial beings, as various in

their attributes as the elements, the passions, and the prejudices which they represented. Their liberality extended to the admission, also, of the gods of every other form of heathen worship; and every religious sect was tolerated at Rome, except the Christians and the Jews, who were persecuted with unrelenting severity until the mild precepts of the gospel triumphed over the superstitions of paganism. The various sects of philosophers had, indeed, long agreed in rejecting alike the tenets of revealed religion, and the wild theories of the multitude, with all the fabled divinities of their celestial hierarchy. They entertained some undefined ideas of a future state; but the sublime conception of the immortality of the soul entered not into their speculations; and while they affected to admit of no guide but that of natural rectitude, their principles accorded in no point of morality, and afforded no settled rule of conduct. Until, at length, the truths of Christianity prevailed over this chaos of conflicting opinions, and, after a lapse of more than a thousand years from the foundation of the city, it was established as the religion of the state.*

The multitude of deities whom they adored

* A. D. 311.

occasioned the erection of a corresponding number of temples, the greater part of which were splendid structures of massive architecture, adorned with all the art of the sculptor, and filled with the offerings of the votaries of the god to whom they were consecrated. Those dedicated to the inferior divinities were of less magnificence, and were merely styled sacred houses; but besides these, the privacy in which the household gods were worshipped, rendered it incumbent on families of distinction to have a chapel in their dwelling-house for the solemnization of their peculiar rites.

The forms of worship consisted in invocation; in offerings of incense and perfumes before the image of the god; and in libations, and the sacrifice of victims immolated on his altar, while hymns were chaunted in his praise, to the sound of musical instruments, by young persons of both sexes. When the priest pronounced the prayers, the assistants recited them, standing, their faces turned towards the east, and enveloped in their mantles, lest their attention should be distracted by any object of ill omen. They invoked the divinity by name, and, whilst praying, they touched the altar with their fingers, then carried the hand to the lips, and afterwards extended it towards the statue of the deity; of which they also embraced the

knees, which were considered as the symbols of mercy. Those who could not attend the public temples, fulfilled these duties in their private oratories, where the rich offered sacrifices, and the poor, vows and supplications. Prayers were also offered in the evening ; but only to the infernal gods, who divided the respect of the Romans with the celestial deities.

The public festivals were numerous, and being all held sacred from labour, were extremely detrimental to the interests of the state. To these, the veneration in which the Romans held their ancestors induced them to add many private commemorations, which were equally observed as holidays ; and their superstition prevented them from engaging in any undertaking on those days which, being deemed unfortunate, were marked black in the kalendar : thus, a great portion of the year was either consumed in religious ceremonies, or wasted in idleness, with but little advantage to the morals, and deeply to the prejudice of the fortunes of the people.

The Romans were, indeed, so strongly tainted with superstition, that circumstances evincing it are recorded of their most eminent men. The commonest accidents were considered portentous of good or evil, and many an omen, now only regarded

by the peasantry and the lower orders, had its origin in this antique source of credulity. Their most judicious historians have not scrupled to record accounts of dreams and apparitions: and we find among the correspondence of even the enlightened younger Pliny, a letter in which he gravely asks the opinion of a friend regarding the existence of ghosts; adding his own belief in it, founded on some stories which he relates with almost childish simplicity. Amongst others, equally absurd, he tells of a house at Athens that had the reputation of being haunted. In the dead of night, a noise resembling the clanking of chains was heard, and it was said, that a spectre walked through it in the form of a ghastly old man with a long beard and dishevelled hair, and loaded with irons. The terrified inhabitants passed their nights in such restless horror, that they at length fell victims to their fears, and the dwelling was abandoned to the ghost. It happened, at this time, that Athenodorus the philosopher arrived at Athens. When, nothing intimidated at the imputation on the house, and no doubt getting it a bargain, he hired it; and prepared himself to receive the visit of its grim occupant, whom he awaited, with great composure, in his study. The spectre did not disappoint him: punctual to his

hour, he appeared in all his terrors, and beckoned to the philosopher to attend him. He then stalked slowly away, and Athenodorus, after a little hesitation, followed into the court, where the apparition suddenly vanished; but on digging up the spot where it disappeared, the skeleton of a man in chains was found. The bones were then collected, and publicly buried, and the ghost being thus appeased, the philosopher was left in quiet possession.*

Our surprise at a weakness so inconsistent with the general strength of mind displayed by the Romans, will however be much lessened, if we reflect, that it was no less the constitution of their government, than the genius of their religion, to countenance a belief in omens; which were invariably consulted previous to the adoption of any important resolution, whether of a public or domestic nature. This gave rise to the institution of the *Collega of Augurs*, composed of fifteen members, whose duty it was to interpret dreams, oracles, and prodigies, and to foretell events by the conclusions they drew from their observation of the flight of birds. It was an office of great dignity, held by persons of the highest rank; and though origin-

* Plin. *Epist.* l. vii. ep. 27.

ating in mere superstitious credulity, it was probably continued from motives of policy, to augment the ascendancy of men in power over the minds of the people; for there can be little doubt that the predictions of the augurs accorded, on all important occasions, with the views of their rulers. The omens they condescended to notice were frequently not only of the most trifling, but even ridiculous nature. Without attempting the endless task of enumerating them, it may be sufficient to observe, that, during war, no general took the field without being accompanied by a sacred brood of chickens, from the feeding of which were drawn the most important presages.

There was also a minor class of professors in the science of divination, styled *Aruspices*, whose predictions were guided by remarks on the palpitating entrails of newly-slaughtered victims, and the circumstances attending sacrifices. Besides these, there was a crowd of pretended astrologers, distinguished by different appellations according to the particular branch in which they affected to excel; and it is a curious fact, that, even in those days, the principal fortune-tellers were Egyptians:—

“ ———Who, for farthing fees,

Will sell what fortune, or what dreams you please.”

Juvenal, Sat. vi.

The wild conceits of the Eastern magic had been early imbibed from those wandering tribes, which, in the remotest ages, spread themselves from the Levant over the shores of the Mediterranean, and thence penetrated into the heart of Europe. Magic, was, indeed, in its origin, synonymous with superior knowledge, and the term was derived from the Persian sect of the Magi, who were distinguished for their acquaintance with the mathematical sciences. But these being too abstruse for the comprehension of the vulgar, those who professed them were supposed to hold communication with the inhabitants of the invisible world, and to receive assistance from dæmons. Hence it was afterwards applied to sorcery; the initiated in which pretended art affected an intercourse with the spirits which they presumed to rule the elements, and which they propitiated with spells and incantations, and other secret rites, calculated to impress the mind with awe, and to deceive the understanding; which mysteries formed the essence of the occult science, and were extensively practised in Rome.

Although the Augur and the Aruspex both assisted at some religious ceremonies, yet they cannot correctly be said to have belonged to the priesthood; which was only composed of two

orders, the pontiffs, and the ministers of the temples.

The *Pontiffs* were the dignitaries of the Roman Hierarchy. They presided over every thing appertaining to the public worship; and, collectively, formed a tribunal entitled the *College of Pontiffs*, which held jurisdiction over all offences against religion, and possessed an authority that extended, in some cases, to the power of inflicting capital punishment. Their number was at first limited to four, but was afterwards gradually extended; and it is uncertain of how many the college at last consisted. It was presided by a superior, styled the *Pontifex Maximus*, or high-priest, the dignity of whose office was so great, that it was at length assumed by the emperors; and although we may conclude that the duties annexed to it had ceased in the time of the Christian sovereigns, yet the title was continued by them until the reign of Theodosius.

The inferior order, or *Priests of the Temples*, were those whose services were dedicated to some particular god, whom they worshipped with rites that were peculiar to each. They were distinguished by various titles appropriate to the deity they served; but the high-priest of each was called *Flamen*, and his office, especially if devoted to one

of the superior divinities, was one of elevated rank: of these, the Flamen of Jupiter was the most eminent, and it appears that his wife participated in some of his sacred functions. It was essential to the sacerdotal character to be without bodily defect; wherefore a priest who was maimed, even through accident, could no longer officiate. But history has not acquainted us whether there was any particular form of education for those destined to the priesthood, or any fixed age at which they were admitted, nor in what manner their services were afterwards remunerated; and we can only gather from the unconnected accounts of various authors, that they were expected to be persons of pure morals, and respectable family, and that some provision was certainly made for them.

The priestesses of Vesta—more generally known by the appellation of *Vestal Virgins*—were the guardians of the Penates of the Roman people, and of the sacred fire that was preserved in the temple of the goddess. Fire was the most ancient object of adoration among the Heathens; and, being regarded as the symbol of life, it was probably considered as emblematic of the duration of the empire, and thus its conservation became of importance to the state. But whatever may have been the superstition in which it originated, it was

of the most remote antiquity, as the fire itself was supposed to have been brought with the Penates from Troy; to which tradition Virgil distinctly alludes in that part of the *Æneid* where the ghost of Hector warns *Æneas* to depart:—

“ Now Troy to thee commends her future state,
And gives her gods companions of thy fate :
From their assistance happier walls expect,
Which, wandering long, at last thou shalt erect—”
He said, and brought me from their bless'd abodes
The *venerable statues of the gods*,
With ancient *Vesta* from the sacred choir,
The wreaths and relics of the ‘ *immortal fire*.’

Dryden, b. ii.

This venerated deposit was guarded with pious care throughout every revolution of the commonwealth: the hallowed flame was annually renewed from the rays of the sun, and if extinguished through any accident, it was viewed as an omen of unfortunate portent.

The vestals enjoyed many valuable privileges, and were regarded with distinguished respect. Their persons were sacred: in public, they usually appeared on a magnificent car drawn by white horses, followed by a numerous retinue of female slaves, and preceded by lictors; and if they met a malefactor going to punishment they had power

to remit his sentence; in private, important family discussions were referred to their decision, and the testamentary acts of the highest personages were deposited in their care. They were only six in number, and were selected by the Pontifex Maximus, even without the consent of their parents, at any age from six until ten. They were only bound to their ministry during thirty years; the first ten of which were passed in their noviciate, after which they entered on their functions, and at the expiration of the full term they were at liberty to leave the temple, and marry; but if, during that period, they infringed the vow of chastity taken by them on their admission into the order, they were entombed alive. A deep, subterraneous sepulchre was furnished with a couch, a lamp, a pitcher of water, and a loaf; into this the unfortunate victim was made to descend while funeral rites were performed over her, and, on their awful termination, it was closed, never to be re-opened: the paramour was scourged to death.

An ancient legend prevailed in Italy, that during the reign of the second Tarquin, a woman presented herself before him with nine books, which she proposed to sell at an extravagant price. Her offer was disregarded, and she retired, but returned soon after, saying that she had burned

three of the volumes, and yet required the same price for the remaining six. Her demand being again refused, she burned three more, and persisted in exacting the original sum for those still undestroyed. This singular conduct having excited the wonder of the monarch, he consulted the augurs, who advised compliance with the demand, and the purchase having been completed, the sibyl vanished.

These were the celebrated sibylline books, which were said to contain oracles regarding the safety of the commonwealth. As their contents were, however, kept inviolably secret, they being only consulted on occasions of deep importance, and as they were destroyed in the conflagration of the Capitol, during the wars of Marius and Sylla, nothing certain is known on the subject, and they probably were made use of as instruments of state, in persuading the people to the adoption of measures that suited the views of government. In compliance with one of their predictions,—“that Gauls and Greeks should possess the city,”—four persons, a man and a woman of each nation, are recorded to have been buried alive within the walls of Rome, in order that thus the prophecy might be fulfilled.* But this was not the only occasion on

* Plutarch : *in vit. Marcell.*

which her annals were stained with human sacrifices; the same scene of horror was twice repeated; and in compliance with the barbarous superstition of the age, enemies captured in war were sometime slain to appease the manes of warriors killed in battle. Such, indeed, was the respect paid to omens and predictions, and so extravagant were the fears, as well as the hopes, which they excited, that the people were constantly engaged in averting those dire portents by rites and expiations, in which—when not polluted by human victims—whole herds of animals were slaughtered.

The Sibyls were the prophetesses of pagan antiquity; and such reliance appears to have been placed on the oracles which they were presumed to have delivered, that, after the destruction of the books already mentioned, great exertions were made to collect their predictions, and those which could be obtained were preserved until the time of the Emperor Honorius, when they were destroyed, as being incompatible with the Christian religion. Their number is uncertain; but it is generally supposed that there were ten who were known in that character, and who resided in various parts of Greece, of Italy, and of the East. Of these the Cumæan Sibyl—the Priestess of Apollo—enjoyed the highest reputation, and it is to her that Virgil

represents Æneas as applying for counsel on his establishment in Italy.

“The pious prince ascends the sacred hill
Where Phœbus is ador’d ; and seeks the shade
Which hides from sight his venerable maid.
Deep in a cave the Sibyl makes abode ;
Thence full of fate returns, and of the God.”
“————— Achates came,
And by his side the mad divining dame,
The priestess of the God, Deïphobe her name.”
‘Time suffers not (she said) to feed your eyes
With empty pleasures : haste the sacrifice.
Seven Bullocks, yet unyok’d, for Phœbus choose,
And for Diana seven unspotted ewes.’
This said the servants urge the sacred rites,
While to the temple she the prince invites.
A spacious cave within its farthest part,
Was hew’d and fashion’d by laborious art,
Through the hill’s hollow sides : before the place,
A hundred doors a hundred entries grace :
As many voices issue, and the sound
Of sibyl’s words as many times rebound.”

Dryden, Æneis, b. vi.

CHAP. VI.

ON MILITARY INSTITUTIONS.

Period of Service—Composition of the Legion—Standing Army—Military Tribunes—Officers of the Infantry—Standards—Music—Arms—Dress—Cavalry—Equitation—Punishments—Rewards—The Triumph and Ovation—Origin of the Navy—Galleys—Naval Architecture.

ACCORDING to the Roman constitution, every free-born citizen was a soldier, and bound to serve if called upon, in the armies of the state, at any period of his life from the age of seventeen to forty-six,* until he had accomplished the term of sixteen years' service in the foot or ten in the horse; nor was any one deemed qualified to fill the higher offices of the government until he had been enrolled that time in some military corps. The difference between the limitation of service, however, probably arose not so much from any greater danger

* Nieupoort, *Rit. Rom. sect. v. c. 1.* Rosinus, *Ant. Rom. Lib. x. cap. 3.* Kennett states the limited age to have been fifty; (*Rom. Ant. part ii. b. iv. ch. 1.*) but this was only in case the required term of service had not been previously completed.

to be incurred or experience to be acquired in the cavalry, as from the political distinction between the knights, of whom that force was originally exclusively formed, and the plebeians who composed the infantry, and the consequent necessity of affording to the former an earlier opportunity for advancement.

The youth, of every condition, were not alone trained to arms from the earliest age, but, when they joined the army, they were employed indiscriminately in the most laborious duties of the camp and the field. "Thus formed," says Sallust, "no toil fatigued, no difficulty disheartened, no danger dismayed them. No combat so animating to them as that in which they contended for the prize of glory: to charge the enemy, to scale a fortress, to distinguish themselves by some daring action, and make themselves respected for their valor—this was their ambition; and in fame alone they placed both honor, wealth, and true nobility."* This ardor for military fame was at once the cause, and the effect of the justly great reputation of the Roman arms; and we may judge from the exaggerated praises bestowed on it by the author just quoted, how sedulously it was nourished, and with what enthusiasm it was sustained.

* Sallustius, *de Bell. Cat. in Proëm.*

The Roman forces were mustered in distinct brigades, each completely officered and appointed for the field, and forming an army in itself. These divisions were termed legions, and originally consisted of three hundred horse, and three thousand foot. The former were always maintained on the same establishment, but the number of the latter varied at different periods, and was at one time carried so high as six thousand men. They were composed of three battalions of different orders of infantry of the line, containing thirty *Manipuli*, or companies, of two *Centuries* each, formed into ten *Cohorts*, to which were added ten troops of horse, of thirty each, and some unattached light infantry.

During the early period of the republic, the standing army, in time of peace, usually consisted of only four legions, two of which were commanded by each consul, and they were relieved by new levies every year; the soldiers then serving without any pay beyond their mere subsistence. But this number was afterwards greatly augmented, and the inconvenience of raw troops having been experienced, a fixed stipend in money was allowed to the men, and they were constantly retained in the service. At the battle of Pharsalia we find that the joint forces of Cæsar and Pompey amounted to eighteen legions; and Augustus maintained twenty-

five, besides auxiliaries, and the Prætorian bands.* They were numbered in the order in which they were raised; but, as there were also similar levies of provincial troops among the allies of the commonwealth, each legion was, besides, distinguished by the name either of the sovereign by whom it was appointed, of some god to which it was devoted, or that of some celebrated action in which it had gained renown. The Prætorian Cohorts were raised to form the body-guard of the emperor; and being, therefore, always retained in barracks at Rome, and not trained in legions, they did not form part of the regular field troops.

The levy of the troops, the encampment, and much of the civil discipline as well as the temporary command of the army, was entrusted to the *Military tribunes*, six of whom were appointed to each legion; but they only remained in office six months, and the permanent command of each legion was vested in the *Primopilus*,† or colonel, to

* Tacitus, *lib. i.* Dio Cassius, *lib. lv.* Ferguson makes the number of legions at that period amount to forty-five; but he is not supported by his own enumeration. *Hist. of the Rom. Rep. vol. v. ch. 37.*

† Cæsar's Comm. *de Bell. Gall. lib. ii. s. xv. et lib. vi. s. xxxvii* Tit. Liv. *lib. vii.* Rosinus, *Ant. Rom. lib. x. cap. vii.* Kennett's *Rom. Ant. part ii. b. iv. ch. iii.* Mr. Gifford

whom the officers next in rank were the *Centurions*, of whom there were two for each manipulus, together with four lieutenants, and two ensigns. The Tribunes were at one time elected by the people from among officers who had served five years in the cavalry, or ten in the infantry; but that power afterwards fell into the hands of the consuls, and was latterly exercised by the generals and governors of provinces, who seem to have bestowed the appointment from motives of mere favor.* The regular officers, however, were promoted from seniority or merit, and appear to have passed through every gradation of rank to the post of Primopilus,† which was a situation not alone of great honor, but of very considerable emolument, and could only be obtained after a long period of service.

The Imperial Eagle was the common standard of the legion. It was of gilt metal, borne on a spear by an officer of rank, styled, from his office,

says, in the notes to his translation of the fourteenth Satire of Juvenal, that every ten centuries were commanded by a primopilus; but he does not quote any authority in support of the assertion.

* Plin. Epist. b. iii. ep. 8. and b. iv. ep. 4.

† Vegetius, lib. ii. cap. xxi. Cæsar's Comm. de Bell. Civ. lib. iii. c. liii.

Aquilifer, and was regarded by the soldiery with a degree of reverence, bordering on devotion. Each company had also an ensign peculiar to itself, and termed *manipulus*, either in allusion to its form, which was that of a hand, or in consequence, as most writers affirm, of the original banner having been nothing more than a wisp of hay carried on a staff, but as Vegetius supposes, with more appearance of probability, from the soldiers having fought with joined hands.* It was also of metal, and carried on the end of a lance with a small shield underneath, on which was graven some appropriate device. The cavalry carried pennons, on which the initials of the emperor, or of the legion, were embroidered in letters of gold.

The only musical instruments used in the Roman army were brazen trumpets of different forms, adapted to the various duties of the service. A drum, of that kind which we denominate the kettle drum, was known, but does not appear to have been employed.

The arms of the soldiery varied according to the battalion in which they served. Some were equipped with light javelins, and others with a missive weapon, called *pilum*, which they flung at the

* Vegetius, *lib. ii. cap. xiii.*

enemy; but all carried shields, and short swords of that description usually styled cut-and-thrust, which they wore on the right side, probably to avoid the inconvenience of its interfering with the buckler, which they bore on the left arm. They were partly dressed in a metal cuirass, with an under covering of cloth, which seems generally to have been of a red colour, and hung loose to the knees, in the same form as the kilt still used in our highland regiments. On the head they wore helmets of brass, either fastened under the chin with plates of the same metal, or reaching to the shoulders, which they covered, and ornamented on the top with flowing tufts of horse hair; but the light infantry,—who appear to have been variously armed with slings and darts, as well as swords, and to have been only employed in skirmishing,—commonly wore a shaggy cap, in imitation of the head of some wild beast of which the skin hung over their shoulders. The troops of the line wore greaves on the legs, and heavy iron-bound sandals on the feet.*

The uniform of the generals was an open scarlet mantle, termed *chlamys*, thrown over their armour, and fastened upon the right shoulder:

* This sandal was called *Caliga*, from which the emperor Caius Cæsar obtained the surname of Caligula, in consequence of having worn it in his youth among the soldiery.

both officers and soldiers also occasionally wore over the cuirass a loose upper coat, closed in the front with clasps, and called *sagum* ; but it was only used for convenience, and was so far from being a distinctive military dress, that it was generally adopted by private citizens in times of public commotion.

The cavalry were armed with spears, and wore a coat of mail of chain-work, or scales of brass or steel, not unfrequently plated with gold, under which was a close garment that reached to their buskins. The helmet was surmounted with a plume, and with an ornament distinctive of each rank, or with some device, according to the fancy of the wearer, and which was then, as now in heraldry, denominated the crest.*

“ *Loricam consertam hamis, auroque trilicem,
Et conum insignis galeæ, cristasque comantes.*”

Virgil, Æn. b. iii.

“ A trusty coat of mail to me he sent,
Thrice chain'd with gold, for use and ornament;
The helm of Pyrrhus added to the rest,
'That flourish'd with a plume and waving crest.”

DRYDEN.

They were commanded by a *Præfect*, and the

* The term—*Crista*—was derived from the resemblance of the ornament to the comb of a cock.

subordinate officers, of whom there were three to each troop, were called *Decurions*, from their each commanding ten men; as the centurions took their appellation from their companies having at one time consisted of each one hundred.

The Romans rode without stirrups, nor is it known at what period they were first used: there is no mention of them in the classics, nor do they appear on antique statues or coins. The young were taught to vault into their seat, and the aged or inactive were either assisted by their grooms, or used the aid of stepping-stones; but it would appear from some figures on an ancient engraved stone in the collection of Baron Stosch, that there was a small projection on the lances of the horse-soldiers to aid them in mounting. Neither had they saddles, such as ours, but merely cloths folded according to the convenience of the rider, and fastened with a surcingle; these were covered with a large housing which was often richly embroidered; and, as the bridles were generally highly ornamented, the whole caparison wore a splendid appearance. The horses were all entire, and the modern fashions of docking and cropping were not practised. It seems incontestable that they endeavoured, by some means, to secure the hooves of their horses from injury; but it is equally

certain that they were not acquainted with our method of shoeing, and on long marches, the cavalry were sometimes retarded by the injury done to the horses feet. We are indeed told, that Nero's mules were shod with silver; and frequent allusion is made by ancient writers to iron and brass as having been employed for a similar purpose; but the shoes were not nailed, and being removeable at pleasure, it is probable that they were fastened over the hoof.*

The discipline of the army was maintained with great severity: officers were exposed to degradation for misconduct, and the private soldier was not alone subject to corporal chastisement, and that species of punishment which we term "running the gantlet,†" which usually terminated in death; but whole legions, who had deserted their standards, or otherwise forfeited their honor or transgressed their military duty, were exposed to decimation, which consisted in drawing their names by lot, and putting every tenth man to the sword.

Rewards also were not wanting to stimulate their courage and recompense their merit. These chiefly consisted in honorary distinctions, and in

* For the authorities on this subject, see the articles under each separate head in Beckmann's History of Inventions.

† Or gantlope. See Brady's *Varieties of Literature*.

various personal decorations, of which the most remarkable were crowns of different forms, appropriate to the service for which they were conferred: thus, the mural crown was presented to him who in the assault first scaled the rampart of a town, and the castral to those who were foremost in storming the enemy's entrenchments; the civic chaplet,* of oak-leaves, decorated the brows of the soldier who saved his comrade's life in battle, and the triumphal laurel wreath adorned the temples of the general who commanded in a successful engagement.

But the greatest distinction that could be conferred on a commander, and consequently the object of highest ambition, was a triumph. This could only be accorded by the senate, and in the warlike times of the republic, was never granted except on the occasion of some signal victory. When decreed, the general returned to Rome, and was appointed, by a special edict, to the supreme command in the city on the day of his entry; a triumphal arch was erected of sculptured masonry, under which the cavalcade was to defile,

* The civic crown was regarded as a very honourable distinction, and conferred some valuable privileges; but was not granted unless the person was a Roman citizen, and his opponent had been slain.

and scaffoldings were raised to accommodate the spectators in all the public places through which it was to pass.

The procession moved at early dawn from beyond the city walls: first came a detachment of cavalry, with a band of military music, preceding a train of priests in their sacerdotal robes, who were followed by a hecatomb of the whitest oxen with gilded horns entwined with flowers, each led by an attendant in his dress of sacrifice; next were chariots laden with the arms of the vanquished, piled in studied disorder, with groups of soldiers carrying their richer spoils and treasure, and bearing aloft in proud display their captured standards; and after them long ranks of chained captives conducted by files of lictors. A charge of trumpets then announced the victor, who, clothed in the purple vest of conquest, crowned with laurel, and extending the ivory sceptre of empire from his hand, advanced, erect, in a splendid open car drawn by four mettled steeds, preceded by the Roman eagle under the guard of a squadron of horse; surrounded by a brilliant escort of his most distinguished officers, mounted on their noblest chargers resplendent with the costly arms and trappings of the knights, and followed by a band of children clothed in the purest white, who

flung clouds of the choicest perfumes from their silver censers, while they chaunted the hymns of victory and the praises of the conqueror. The march was closed by the victorious troops, their weapons wreathed with laurel, and their burnished armour glittering under the blaze of an Italian sun. In this array the cavalcade passed through the city, and wound toward the Capitoline hill until it reached the antique temple of Jupiter towering on its summit, where the general descended, and having performed the customary sacrifices and dedicated his spoils to the gods, he was reconducted in the same order to his dwelling.

Rome poured forth her countless multitudes on this proud holiday: the streets were lined, and the scaffoldings were loaded with her citizens, and every window was filled with beauty to grace the gorgeous pageant. Wherever the procession passed it was hailed with acclamations; while the roll of chariots, the trampling of horses, the clash of arms, the shouts of the soldiers, and the inspiring strains of martial music, all combined to arouse the feelings of exultation with which it was viewed, and to give animation to a spectacle which, for interest and for splendor, has no parallel in modern annals. Joy and revelry reigned throughout the city; but the festive scene was clogged with the

melancholy exhibition of the captives, imploring, often in vain, the mercy of their conquerors, and the triumph of arms was not unfrequently stained by their cold-blooded massacre.

When the objects of the war had been attained by a bloodless victory, a minor kind of triumph was accorded, in which the general appeared on horseback, dressed in white and crowned with myrtle, while in his hand he bore a branch of olive, and was attended by all the symbols of peace. No other living sacrifice was offered but sheep, from the name of which the ceremony was termed an *ovation*.

The origin of the Roman navy has been generally attributed to the accidental circumstance of the capture of a Carthaginian galley, which had been driven on shore on the coast of Sicily a short time previous to the first punic war. The whole history, however, of that period resting more on traditionary evidence than on recorded facts, it is not possible to ascertain the degree of credit due to that legend. It is, indeed, probable that the Romans may have received hints for the improvement of their ships from that of which they are said to have thus obtained possession, but it is scarcely credible that so late as towards the close of the fifth century of their æra, they could

have been ignorant of the structure of vessels which had long been in use among the neighbouring maritime states. If we are to believe the story, they were not slow in profiting by the knowledge they acquired, for we are told that within two months after the event they had constructed no less than one hundred and twenty galleys; but, upon whatever foundation it may rest, it is certain that about that period they were in possession of a very formidable navy, which soon enabled them to cope with their Carthaginian rivals.

From the facility with which these barques are said to have been constructed, we may conjecture how rough must have been the workmanship, and how slight the materials of which they were composed: they were, in fact, nothing more than decked boats impelled by oars, and although the larger kind carried as many as five hundred men, they were unequal to contend with a tempestuous sea, and were unfit for the general purposes of navigation.

Much discussion has arisen respecting their form, and the subject is still involved in considerable obscurity. The description given by ancient authors states that they had from one to five, and even sixteen banks of rowers; but it is difficult to conceive how so many tiers could have been piled

above each other, and all retain the power of working the oars, which we should suppose would in that case not only have clashed with each other, but must have been of such a length, to reach from the upper benches to the water, as to have almost precluded the possibility of using them. This difficulty has been met by the supposition, that “banks of rowers” are only to be considered as so many men employed in working one oar; and it has also been attempted to be solved, by presuming, that the vessels were broader above than below, by which means the rowers might have been so placed as not to interfere with each other; but the first conjecture is contrary to history, in which allusion is often made to the upper and lower benches, and the second is not only inconsistent with the safety of the vessels, but at variance with the figures on ancient statuary. From these representations we may collect that they were clumsy, ill-fashioned barges, nearly flat-bottomed, with lofty sides and a high stern, and rowed with two or three tiers of oars on different decks: they were also provided with a mast and sails, which we may presume were seldom used but when the wind was fair. As, in their naval engagements, the vessels always came in contact with each other, the prows were armed with iron,

commonly carved into the shape of some animal's head, for the purpose of sinking their opponent by the shock of the concussion; and the upper deck was surmounted by a moveable turret from which the soldiers were enabled to fling their missile weapons with advantage, and to board.

After the experience of the Cathaginian wars, and the extension of their own maritime territory had taught the Romans the necessity of maintaining a fleet for the protection of their coasts, regular dockyards were established, and more attention was paid to naval architecture, which was also much improved by their subsequent conquests in Greece. But although honors and rewards were bestowed on those who served their country at sea, the service was never considered so respectable as that of the land; and, on all great occasions, the generals of the army took the rank and command of admirals.

CHAP. VII.

ON AGRICULTURE.

Division of Land—Agrarian Law—Farms—Buildings—Implements—Tillage—Different Kinds of Grain—Method of grinding Corn—Mills—Rearing of Cattle—The Dairy—Rustic Customs—Superstitions—Prognostics of the Weather.

IN the infancy of the commonwealth the lands of the Roman territory were divided among the citizens in equal proportion: at first the allotment to each consisted of less than two acres; but, after the expulsion of the kings, it was encreased to about four, and this for a long time continued to be the quantity assigned in the conquered countries. At that period, agriculture, and a few rude trades immediately connected with it, were the only occupations, and the highest ambition, as well as the greatest distinction, was to be considered an expert husbandman; whence it arose, that many of the most ancient families derived their names from the rustic occupations of their ancestors: thus the noble families *Asinia*, *Porcia*, and *Vitellia*, were so called from their progenitors hav-

ing been celebrated breeders of the animals to which their names have an affinity, as those of *Fabius*, *Lentulus*, *Piso*, and *Cicero*, were no doubt equally remarkable for the successful cultivation of leguminous plants.

It is probable that, in this early stage of the art, husbandry was confined to cultivation with the spade ; but when, in the usual progress of society, the estates of individuals were encreased in consequence of the acquisition of wealth and power, and especially after slavery had been introduced, the size of the farms was enlarged, they were cultivated with the plough, and many of the processes still in use were then adopted. The extent, indeed, of many of these farms was afterwards so great as to have far exceeded that of the largest in this country, but they appear to have been generally cultivated for the account of the proprietor rather than for that of a tenant ; and even when they were rented, the stock seems usually to have belonged to the owner of the soil, and the rent to have been more frequently estimated at a certain portion of the produce, paid in kind, than at a fixed annual valuation. The farmers who rented land were always freemen, and many of that condition were also employed as stewards and overseers, and even as labourers, but the bulk of the latter were

slaves. The public lands which had not been granted to individuals in perpetuity, were let upon lease, and many great families having accumulated large portions of these demesnes on terms, we may presume, of favor, great jealousy was thereby created among the plebeians, in consequence of which a law was passed* which limited the quantity of public land that could be held by any one citizen to five hundred *jugera*, or about three hundred English acres, and the quantity of stock that might be pastured on the public commons to one hundred of oxen and five hundred of sheep. This ordinance, commonly known as the *Agrarian Law*, has been generally interpreted into a restriction of all landed estates to the amount already mentioned; and it is not a little extraordinary that some of the most acute writers of the age have fallen into that popular error.† The injustice of a law which would thus not only prevent the accumulation of property, but would have deprived

* *Lex Licinia*, passed in the year of Rome 377, during the consulate of Licinius Stolo and Publius Sextius, and revived by the *Lex Sempronia* during the sedition of the Gracchi.

† Montesquieu, *Grand. et dec. des Romains*. Adam Smith, *Wealth of Nations*, b. iv. ch. vii. Ferguson, *Rom. Rep.* Vol. I, ch. iii. and ix.

the owners of what they had already acquired of their own, is of itself sufficiently glaring, added to which, as many of the plebeians were themselves in possession of large estates, it could not have been their interest to demand its enactment; but, independently of this reasoning, the fact is, that its provisions only reached the public lands, and never interfered with private property.*

Of the construction and arrangement of the mere farm houses and buildings we possess but little information. At an early period they consisted of little more than rude huts, suited to the small quantity of land attached to them, and the humble pretensions of their owners; but it is probable that the homestead of a later date differed but little from that still to be seen throughout Italy, except where the extensive possessions of some great proprietors, and the vast number of slaves for whom they required accommodation, occasioned a corresponding encrease in the offices. Accordingly we read of long ranges of store-houses and granaries; of cellars for wine and oil; of barns, rick-yards, and stabling, together with separate buildings for the care and rearing of every species of domestic animal; and as these

* The words of the law are—" *ne quis ex agro publico plus D. jugera possideret.*"

were usually attached to the villa of the master, they were constructed substantially, and with due attention to symmetry.*

The implements employed in tillage resembled those in common use at the present day in the purposes to which they were applied, though many of them were, no doubt, different in form. Notwithstanding the minute particulars which have been recorded of its several parts, authors are not agreed respecting the exact shape of the plough. It consisted of a beam to which the yoke was fastened; a handle, at the end of which was a cross-bar by which the ploughman held and guided it; the share, and a crooked piece of wood between that and the beam, to which there seems to be nothing exactly similar in modern ploughs, but its use was to support the share-beam on which the share itself was fixed; there were also two ears, which are supposed to have resembled our mold-boards: the coulter differed in nothing material from that with which we are acquainted, and even its name has suffered but little alteration. There were, however, several varieties of this instrument adapted to various soils and operations, and some of them were even mounted on wheels;

* Columella, *de re Rust. lib. i. cap. vi. et lib. vii. cap. iii.*
Varro, *lib. i. cap. iii.*

which latter peculiarity, however trivial in itself, marks a very considerable proficiency in the science of agriculture; and the traveller, whose attention has been turned to that subject, cannot have failed to remark that it is an improvement still unknown throughout a great part of Europe.

The Romans always ploughed with oxen; a single pair, or sometimes three abreast, constituted the common team, and these were yoked by the neck and horns, in the manner still customary throughout a great part of Italy and the Peninsula, and driven with a goad. The usual day's work appears to have been rather more than half an acre,* and this was measured in furrows of 120 feet in length, at which distance the cattle were turned instead of going to the extent of the field when it was longer. They do not appear to have ploughed in ridges unless for the last tilth, and when they came to the end of the furrow they returned in the same track, thus leaving the field level throughout. They were extremely careful

* It was 120 feet in length by 240 in breadth, and was termed a *jugum*. Allusion is made to this in the Old Testament, 1 *Samuel*, ch. xiv. v. 14.—“ And that first slaughter which Jonathan and his armour-bearer made, was about twenty men, within as it were an half acre of land, which a yoke of oxen might plow.”

to make straight and even furrows, and when a ploughman deviated from the direct line, he was said to *prevaricate*, whence this term was afterwards used to denote a crime in judicial proceedings analogous to the sense in which it is still employed.

The ground was usually tilled and left to rest alternately, but the modern system of an intermediate green-crop between those of corn was also sometimes practised. The fallows were ploughed in the spring and autumn, and great attention was paid to pulverise and cleanse the earth by frequent cross-ploughing and harrowing: we find also very minute directions for the different modes of culture required by various soils.

The important subject of manure seems to have been equally well understood; the burning of stubbles and the ploughing-in of green crops were constantly practised, and the mixture and preservation of compost—with inattention to which the farmers of the present day are so often reproached—engaged a great portion of their care; but it does not appear that they made use of lime for that purpose until a very late period.

The seed was steeped, and sometimes partly boiled in heated lees of oil and nitre, and was

commonly sown on a level surface, and then ploughed-in, so that it grew in rows, and thus admitted of the operation of hoeing. The seedsman made use of a basket slung round his body to contain the grain, and he scattered it by the hand, which kept time with the step in the manner still practised. When it rose the ground was not alone carefully hoed, but weeded also by hand; and if the crop appeared rank it was fed-off, while green, with sheep.

The corn was generally reaped with a sickle, or occasionally with a scythe; but the ears alone were also sometimes cut off with a kind of saw, leaving the straw to be afterwards either cut or burned on the ground. It is doubted whether the Romans bound their corn in sheaves. Dryden has indeed translated a passage in the *Georgics* of Virgil with reference to that custom—

— Cum flavis messorum induceret arvis
Agricola, et fragili jam stringeret hordea culmæ—

Lib. i. v. 317.

“E'en while the reaper fills his greedy hands,
And binds the golden sheaves in brittle bands—”

but his authority is far from being conclusive, and it will be perceived that the original affords but slender ground for his inference. It is, notwithstanding, probable that he is correct; for there is

no doubt of its having been the practice among the Hebrews and the Greeks,* from whom it seems likely that the Romans would have adopted it, if it had not been previously suggested by its obvious utility. The Gauls reaped with a machine drawn by horses; but although this is mentioned by Pliny, it does not appear to have been in use in Italy.

The corn was carried from the field in carts, when it was cut down with the straw, but if only the ears were gathered, they were deposited in baskets, and in either case it was thrashed immediately. The trashing-floor was exposed to the open air; of a circular form, somewhat raised in the centre, and either paved with stone, or laid with tempered clay smoothed with a roller. The grain was beaten out by driving over it either cattle, or a sledge laden with heavy weights: it was then winnowed by throwing it across the wind with a shovel, and when cleaned it was laid up either in common granaries, or in deep conical pits, from which the external air was carefully excluded, and in which it is said to have

* Proofs that such was the practice among the Hebrews, are to be found in the scriptures, in *Genesis*, ch. xxxvii. v. 7. and *Ruth*, ch. ii. v. 15. and among the Greeks, in Homer, *Ilias*, lib. xviii. l. 550.

been sometimes preserved in a sound state during a period of fifty years.* The same simple modes of thrashing and winnowing are mentioned in the scriptures,† and it is remarkable that they are still practised throughout the south of Europe, and that grain continues to be preserved in a similar manner in many parts of the Mediterranean; but the modern modes of thrashing and winnowing were not unknown: Pliny mentions the flail, and Virgil has—

“ The sled, the tumbril, hurdles, *and the flail,*
The fan of Bacchus, with the flying sail.”

DRYDEN, *Georg. b. i.*

The kinds of grain in common cultivation were the same as those now known in Europe, with the exception of maize, or Indian corn, which has been procured from America, and buck-wheat, which, although some authors suppose that it was known by the Romans, seems to have been first introduced from the East in the beginning of the 16th century. That which was called *Far*, and respecting which many doubts have been entertained, is generally supposed to have been a peculiar kind of wheat, with the qualities of which we are unacquainted. A learned author,‡ whose

* Plin. *Hist. Nat. lib. xviii. c. 30. Ibid. c. 72.*

+ *Isaiah, ch. xxviii. v. 27; ch. xxx. v. 24.*

‡ Dr. Alexander Adam on Roman Antiquities, p. 500, ed. 1819.

opinion on subjects of antiquity is entitled to great weight, has said, that it resembled that which we call spelt; but, contrary to his usual practice, he does not quote his authority, and the word *Far* appears to have been applied to corn in too general a sense to enable us to determine its species with any degree of precision.

In the rude ages the only mode of converting grain into meal was, probably, by pounding it with an instrument resembling a pestle and mortar; and this was, in fact, retained in use even long after the invention of mills. In process of time the mortar was ridged, and the pestle notched, and a handle being added to the top of the latter, by which it could be turned, they were thus converted into a hand-mill, and each family prepared the flour for its own consumption. At a later period, shafts were added to the mill, that it might be driven by cattle, and heavy cylindrical stones were used instead of the ancient pestle and mortar, which were of wood.

The invention of water-mills is of much later date: it has been ascribed to Mithridates, but without any conclusive ground for the conjecture, and nothing is known with certainty on that point, except that such mills were known in his time in Asia. They are supposed to have been introduced

into Rome a short time previous to the reign of Augustus ; but they were so slowly adopted into general use, that upwards of twenty years after the death of that Emperor, there was a scarcity of bread in the city in consequence of the seizure of the cattle belonging to the mills, by Caligula, and the first mention made of public water-mills, in the laws, does not occur until the latter end of the fourth century. None of the classic authors who treat of such subjects make any allusion to wind-mills: the period of their invention, indeed, is not ascertained, but there is no ground for supposing that they were known to the ancients.

The accounts which have been preserved of the machinery employed in their corn-mills, and of the manner of grinding and baking, are too imperfect to enable us to describe these different processes with accuracy; but it would appear from them, that the Romans distinguished various kinds of flour with which we are unacquainted, and they are considered to have carried the art of preparing meal, and that of making bread also, much farther than the moderns.

All the different *spécies* of pulse still cultivated in Italy appear to have been known, and to have been employed for similar purposes, except, indeed, that the seeds of vetches, which are now

exclusively given to cattle, were by them used equally as food for their slaves; and it appears, that even the husks were eaten by them in times of scarcity. Flax was cultivated chiefly for its use in cordage and sails for shipping, and it was not until a very late period that it was employed in the fabrication of linen. It is supposed to have been brought from Egypt; and, before its introduction, the Romans employed, for similar purposes, a kind of broom—*spartum junceum*—or that species of rush called the *stipa tenacissima*, which is still used as a substitute for hemp in the south of Spain. Rape was largely grown, both as green food for cattle and for the purpose of expressing oil from the seed.

Great attention seems to have been paid to the dressing of meadows, and the practice of irrigation was resorted to whenever the situation of the ground and the command of water permitted; lucerne, clover, and various other artificial grasses, were also cultivated for fodder; but botanists are divided in opinion respecting the identity of some among them with those with which we are acquainted. Hay was mown and made in the same manner as at present: first piled up in small cocks, then spread and piled again, and lastly stacked or housed in barns; but, during the pre-

valence of great heat, some of these operations, as Virgil informs us, were sometimes performed by moonlight :—

“ Parched meads and stubble mow by Phœbe’s light,
Which both require the coolness of the night.”

DRYDEN, *Georg. b. i.*

The meadows do not appear to have been enclosed: the cattle were consequently always attended, during the day, by a herd, to prevent them from straying, and at night they were secured in fold-yards and stables; but the corn-fields, vineyards, and orchards were fenced in the modern manner.

The rearing of cattle engaged that portion of attention which the importance of so material a branch of rural industry demanded; and although the same discrimination and spirit of improvement which so peculiarly distinguish the breeders of this country were not conspicuous, yet were they, perhaps, more apparent then than even at present in most other parts of Europe.

As oxen were generally used in tillage, they were consequently more esteemed for strength than for those other qualities which render them valuable to the grazier: we must not, therefore, be surprised that the notions of Roman farmers respecting the perfection of their form, differed in some respects from those entertained by modern

agriculturists; and, accordingly, the description of their purest breed, as given by Virgil, is certainly but little calculated to excite the admiration of amateurs of the present day:—

“ The mother-cow must wear a louring look,
Sour-headed, strongly neck'd, to bear the yoke.
Her double dewlap from her chin descends,
And at her thighs the ponderous burden ends.
Long are her sides, and large; her limbs are great;
Rough are her ears, and broad her horny feet.
Her colour shining black, but fleck'd with white;
She tosses from the yoke; provokes the fight:
She rises in her gait, is free from fears,
And in her face a bull's resemblance bears:
Her ample forehead with a star is crown'd;
And with her length of tail she sweeps the ground.”

DRYDEN, *Georg. b. iii.*

The calves were branded, not only with the initials of the owner, but with other characters—

“ To note the tribe, the lineage, and the sire;” *Ib.*

from which alone we might infer the care that was used in the selection of the breed, and it was afterwards equally bestowed on their training for the yoke.

Sheep were not merely folded at night, in yards, but, during the winter, were secured under cover; and notwithstanding the mildness of the climate of Italy, we find directions for spreading these sheep-

cotes with a litter of fern and straw, to protect them from the inclemency of the weather ; but it is probable that these latter precautions were confined to the mountainous regions of the Alps and Apennines.

The time of shearing was a season of festivity, and the operation itself seems to have suffered little change in the lapse of ages. It must not be passed over without observation that the poets attributed to some soils the quality of imparting a yellow or a red dye to the fleeces of the sheep which pastured on it :—

“ Crimsons deep tinctured in the Bœtick air,
Where herbs, and springs of secret virtues, stain
The flocks at feed, with nature’s richest grain.”

Gifford’s Juvenal, sat. xii.

The assertion has occasion some discussion, but has generally been considered either as a fiction of poetry, or an imposture of the shepherds ; but the learned Beckmann* seems to consider it possible that plants which contain a colouring substance might impart it to animals which fed on it, and he produces some instances in support of his hypothesis. However this may be, it is certain that neither the soil of Italy, nor that of the coun-

* History of Ancient Institutions, &c. *Art. Madder.*

try celebrated by Juvenal—the present province of Andalusia, in Spain—though the latter is still, to a great extent, in a state of pasturage, produce the same effect on the sheep.

Goats shared equally with “the fleecy charge” in the cares of the husbandman: they were sheltered, during the cold season, in lairs that opened to the south, and when the genial warmth of spring permitted their return to the pastures, the instructions which we find given to the herds of both flocks, show how vigilantly they were tended. But goats were, in fact, as profitable to the farmer as sheep; their hair was annually clipped, and woven into a coarse kind of stuff, and the produce of their udder was the chief supply of the dairy. In mentioning the dairy, we must not, however, be understood as alluding to butter, which seems to have been only very imperfectly, if at all, known to the ancients; but cheese was known at a very early period, and was in such general use, that minute directions for its preparation are to be found in many ancient writers on agriculture.

The diseases incident to cattle, and the remedies to be applied to them, also occupy a large portion of the works of those authors; but the receipts they recommend are little else than the nostrums of rustic experience, or prejudice. Many

distempers, which the progress of modern science has enabled us to overcome with facility, are represented as incurable, and we find the record of a murrain which raged in the Alps to such fatal extent that its ravages destroyed the entire flocks and herds of a wide district; while so malignant were its effects, that the wool of sheep which had died of it is said to have infected those who wore it, when woven into cloth, with a species of leprosy.

As the goddess *Pales* was supposed to preside over flocks and herds, so horses were under the special protection of *Hippona*, whose image was therefore placed above their stalls. The farm itself was defended against trespass by the altars of the god *Terminus*, which guarded its limits from infringement. These, in their origin, were nothing more than the boundary stones which in the primitive ages supplied the place of a more efficient fence; but as they were easily displaced, and their removal gave rise to disputes respecting property, they were invested with a sacred character, to protect them from violation, and were afterwards regarded with the greatest veneration.

When the principal seed-time was over the peasantry held a festival, on the morning of which they assembled near the cross-roads, probably as

a central place of meeting, and hung the yoke and plough upon a tree, under which they first sacrificed, and then devoted the remainder of the day to revelry. This usually took place in January, and in May they celebrated the anniversary of the deity of shepherds with equal jollity; but we find nothing in the annals of their rustic feasts precisely similar to our harvest-home.

The Roman husbandmen appear to have been governed by a more than common share of rustic superstition: they avoided all important labour on the fifth day of the new moon, in consequence of a legend that—

“ It gave the furies and pale Pluto birth,
And arm'd against the skies the sons of earth;”

the seventh and tenth were considered favourable to the planting of vines and harnessing young oxen to the yoke, and the ninth to the commencement of a journey; but if the latter was auspicious to travellers, it was viewed as equally ominous to thieves. The skeleton of an ass's head, hung up at the boundary of the farm, was supposed to have the effect of averting blights and of fertilizing the land; and the same figure, crowned with vines and carved in brass, was affixed as an ornament to their couches, either from a similar idea of its virtues, or as an emblem of festivity and of

the culture of the vine, from the ass being the favourite animal of Silenus. Every movement, in short, seems to have been under the influence of some omen, and in all the operations of husbandry the greatest attention was paid to prognostics of the weather, some of which are thus elegantly described by Virgil:—

“ When crying cormorants forsake the sea,
And stretching to the covert wing their way;
When sportful coots run skimming o’er the strand;
When watchful herons leave their watery stand;
And, mounting upward with erected flight,
Gain on the skies, and soar above the sight.
Or, if the moon with fiery flushing glow,
Expect the rattling winds aloft to blow.—
And oft, before tempestuous winds arise,
The seeming stars fall headlong from the skies,
And, shooting through the darkness, gild the night
With sweeping glories and long trails of light;
And chaff with eddy-winds is whirl’d around,
And dancing leaves are lifted from the ground,
And floating feathers on the waters play.
When first the moon appears, if then she shrouds
Her silver crescent tipp’d with sable clouds,
Conclude she bodes a tempest on the main,
And brews for fields impetuous floods of rain—
The wary crane foresees it first, and sails
Above the storm, and leaves the lowly vales:
The cow looks up, and from afar can find
The change of heaven, and snuffs it in the wind:

The swallow skims the river's watery face :
The frogs renew the croaks of their loquacious race :
The careful ant her secret cell forsakes,
And drags her eggs along the narrow tracks :
At either horn the rainbow drinks the flood :*
Huge flocks of rising rooks forsake their food, }
And crying, seek the shelter of the wood.
Besides, the several sorts of watery fowls,
That swim the seas or haunt the standing pools,
The swans that sail along the silver flood,
And dive with stretching necks to search their food,
Then lave their backs with sprinkling dews in vain,
And stem the stream to meet the promis'd rain.
The crow with clamorous cries the shower demands,
And single stalks along the desert sands."

DRYDEN, *Georg. b. i.*

* "*At either horn the rainbow drinks the flood:*"—"Among the ancients it was a popular belief that the rainbow imbibed its humidity from the ocean ; and that thus clouds were augmented and rains produced."

Busby's Lucretius, Comment. b. vi. v. 612.

CHAP. VIII.

ON HORTICULTURE.

Botanical Science—Flowers—Vegetables—Fruits—Grafting—Style of Gardening—The Olive—The Vine—Introduction and Method of Cultivation—Vintage—Feast of the Vinalia—Manufacture, Conservation, Qualities, and Value of Wine.

THE accounts which have been transmitted to us of the state of horticulture among the Romans, are too imperfect to admit of much detail. In the remote ages, their gardens afforded little else than a scanty list of the most ordinary roots, pot-herbs, pulse, and the commonest trees of the orchard. At a later period, however, there is reason to suppose they were acquainted with most of the finer fruits and vegetables; but at what time they were successively introduced is uncertain. Although frequent mention is made of flowers in the works of the classic authors, it yet seems that the ancients were satisfied with those which were indigenous to the soil; and although they worshipped a deity who was supposed to preside over flowers, it does

not any where appear that they cultivated a taste for botany, or paid much attention to the improvement of their indigenons plants, or the acquisition of exotics. It is to a much later period that we must ascribe the introduction into Europe, from the East, of the greater part of that fragrant collection which now blooms in the Italian parterre, and which art and culture are daily combining to produce for the embellishment of the modern garden. It is also to be observed, that many plants which are mentioned in ancient authors, are either lost, or the descriptions which have been given of them are so defective as to be unintelligible to modern botanists; for the ancients did not possess the art of distinguishing the different genera correctly, and it is, therefore, impossible to elucidate their nomenclature with certainty.

For this reason, we are equally in the dark respecting the greater part of their vegetables. Before the commencement of the Christian æra, many culinary plants and dishes were recommended by writers on agriculture and cookery, and celebrated by the poets, and even graver authors, for properties which cannot now be mentioned, except in a medical treatise, without incurring the imputation of indelicacy. But when the principles of religion concurred with the gradual refinement of

manners to correct the former principles of sensual indulgence, those plants whose supposed qualities recalled gross allusions were banished from the table and the garden, and thus many of the receipts in Apicius have become unintelligible, because we are no longer acquainted with the articles of which they were composed. Among these are the numerous bulbous roots which formed some of the most favourite dishes of the Greeks and Romans, and which no botanist of the present day could accurately define. The *Brassicæ* of the Romans, so often mentioned by their writers on agricultural subjects, belonged, unquestionably, to our cabbage tribe; but by continued cultivation throughout a succession of ages, and in different countries, new varieties have arisen, while many of the old must have fallen into disuse; so that it is as impossible for us to possess all those with which they were acquainted, as for them to have known all those produced in our times. They had one species which they ate raw, as a sallad, to prevent intoxication: the only kind now used in that manner, although not for a similar purpose, is red-cabbage; but of that no mention is to be found. It appears, also, that they possessed several varieties of broccoli, but it is doubtful whether they numbered among them that known as the cauliflower.

Of our edible roots they had radishes, and various kinds of turnips, and it seems to admit of little doubt that they were acquainted with our carrots and parsnips—although that fact has been questioned,—but they do not appear to have made much use of them for culinary purposes.

Some species of lettuce were cultivated, and many varieties of wild-herbs and vegetables were used as salad; among these, rocket and skirret, which though still known, are no longer valued, were in great request, and the latter was so highly prized that it was brought from the banks of the Rhine for the table of the Emperor Tiberius.

The spices of the East bore such an extravagant price, that cummin seems to have been commonly used as a substitute for pepper, and was extensively cultivated as well as imported. It was supposed, also, to possess the quality of producing paleness when used as a decoction, whence deep potations of it were swallowed by those of the pretended literati who affected to pass their time in laborious study. It is also worthy of remark, that mustard-seed was used for the same medicinal purposes for which it has recently acquired such universal reputation in this country.

There was a plant called *buglossum*, which has been so generally supposed to have been our bo-

rage that it is so translated in the Latin dictionaries, and to this the Romans attributed the property of enlivening the spirits, on which account they threw the flowers into their wine: the custom was adopted by our forefathers, doubtless from a similar idea; but, upon minute investigation, it would appear that the plants are different.

Most of our varieties of the *allium* genus seem to have been known, and garlic itself was probably much used in cookery. The *ascalonia* of the ancients is supposed to have been that species termed by us the eschalot, and its name to have been derived from the city of Ascalon, in Palestine, in which country it is found wild; but this opinion is irreconcilable with passages in Theophrastus and Pliny,* which state, that the *ascaloniae* were not propagated by bulbs, but by seeds; while our eschalots, on the contrary, are obtained only by the bulbs.

The various pot-herbs now in use were probably found in a wild state, together with the parent stock of some of our finest vegetables, among which were asparagus and the artichoke; and although the latter was probably nothing more than that species of thistle from which the vegetable now

* Theophrast. *Hist. Plant. lib. vii. c. 4.* Plinius, *Hist. Nat. lib. xix. c. 6.*

cultivated in our gardens is derived, yet was it so highly prized in Rome that its use was forbidden to the common people.* But many of these were at first esteemed only on account of real or supposed medicinal properties, which by culture have generated numerous varieties, have been ameliorated in flavour, rendered larger and more succulent, and are produced at a season when the original root becomes unfit for use; and in this manner most of the vegetables at present produced in the north of Europe have been procured from the southern countries.

The climate of Italy in a great measure superseded the necessity of resorting to artificial heat in the operations of the garden, and although some allusions are found to that method of promoting vegetation, they were generally conducted without the aid of the forcing-frame or the hothouse, which important improvement is of modern invention. The fruits that are indigenous to the soil of that country are comparatively few, and those rich productions of nature which now flourish in such profusion under its genial sun, were chiefly acquired from the coasts of Barbary and the Levant; even the olive, which afterwards became so

* Plin. *Hist. Nat. lib. xix. c. 4.*—Philips's History of Cultivated Vegetables.

important an object of cultivation, was long a stranger to its shores, and was wholly unknown to the early Romans. So ignorant, indeed, were they of those exotic productions, that when they enriched their orchards with the fruits of foreign countries they were satisfied to apply to them the common appellation of apple—which was indigenous to their own soil—and to distinguish them merely by the addition of the name of the place from which they were obtained: thus we learn, that the nectarine and the peach were natives of Persia, the apricot of Armenia,* the pomegranate of Carthage, the quince of Crete, and the citron of Media; the orange, which, probably, was also procured from that country, is supposed to have been distinguished, by way of pre-eminence, as the golden-apple, and the lemon was sometimes termed, by the poets, the fortunate, from some medicinal properties which were attributed to it. The fig, the almond, and the olive, were each the produce of the Levant, imported into Rome about two centuries after its

* The origin ascribed to this fruit has been recently disputed by a French traveller—Mons. Leguier—by whom it is supposed to be indigenous in Arabia. See Phillips's *Pomarium Britannicum*.

foundation, and the cherry was first introduced, by Lucullus, from Cerasus, in Pontus.

The cultivation of trees and shrubs was conducted much in the modern manner, and more science seems to have been displayed in the management of the nursery than in any other branch of gardening, or indeed, than the very moderate attention then generally paid to botanical pursuits would have led us to expect. The ordinary artificial methods of propagation, by suckers from the roots of trees, by sets, by slips, and layers, were in common practice; and the more difficult processes of grafting and budding, which even in the present age are considered as operations of much art and delicacy, seem to have been carried still farther than our gardeners have yet attempted with success. It is a received opinion in this country, that no graft can succeed except upon a stock which bears fruit of the same kind; but Columella, the great writer on agriculture, expressly says, "that any scion may be grafted on any stock, provided the bark be not dissimilar,"* and Virgil tells us, that—

" 'Tis usual now an inmate graft to see
With insolence invade a foreign tree :

* Colum. *de Arbor. lib. v. c. 2.*

Thus pears and quinces from the crabtree come;
And thus the ruddy cornel bears the Plum.
The thin-leav'd arbuté hazel-grafts receives;
And planes huge apples bear, that bore but leaves.
Thus mastful beech the bristly chesnut bears,
And the wild-ash is white with blooming Pears,
And greedy swine from grafted elms are fed
With falling acorns, that on oaks are bred."

Dryden, Georg. b. ii.

The nursery was formed in the same soil as the intended plantation, and when the saplings were transplanted care was taken to place them in the same direction, with regard to the heavens, as that in which they were reared. Their style of ornamental gardening was formal and heavy; more calculated to procure shade than to create scenery, and better adapted to the enjoyment of exercise than of prospect. Gloomy walks, bounded by high clipped hedges, over-shadowed with ever-greens, and encumbered with statues, were the prevailing taste; and it has not yet been entirely exploded from the gardens of modern Italy.* It is also worthy of remark, that the laurel, with which we are wont to crown the heroes of antiquity, is supposed not to have had a place in the gardens of the ancients. The plant mentioned in

* See chap. xiii.

the poets by the name of *laurus*, a very learned botanist* conjectures to have been the *bay-tree*; and he assigns as one, apparently conclusive reason, the odour ascribed to it, in Virgil's pastorals, in which the laurel is deficient—

*“Et vos, o lauri, carpam, et te, proxima myrte;
Sic positæ quoniam SUAVES miscetis ODORES.”*

Eclog. ii.

*“The laurel and the myrtle sweets agree,
And both in nosegays shall be bound for thee.”*

Dryden.

From the extensive use of oil among the ancients, the olive was largely cultivated after its introduction into Italy, and from its bounteous produce was considered as the emblem of peace and its attendant—plenty. A prejudice long existed—that it could not flourish at a distance from the shores of the Mediterranean—but this error was exploded by time and experience, and it was gradually naturalized in the south of France and the Peninsula, where it now constitutes one of the most valuable products of the soil. The fruit was crushed in a mill, and the oil expressed from it was received into cisterns, and afterwards preserved

* Professor Martyn, of Camb.—*Notes on the Georgics.*

in jars, in nearly the same manner as still practised.

The vine was found, in a wild state, in the island of Sicily and the adjacent continent, in the remotest ages; but the grape which it produced was valueless, and the art of procuring wine from it was unknown. The origin of this invention is wrapt in fable: the Egyptians ascribed it to Osiris, the Latins to Saturn, and the Greeks to Bacchus, to whom divine honours were paid on that account. By some, *Ætolia*, in Greece, was supposed to be the place of its discovery; by others, the banks of the river *Alpheus*, in *Olympia*, and lastly, *Plinthion*, a town of Egypt. But, unless we also are to remount to a period of uncertain antiquity, and to admit that it was brought from *Troy* by the followers of *Æneas*, we may presume, that the knowledge of the cultivated grape and the art of fermenting its juice were obtained by the Romans from Greece. They were, however, certainly acquainted with it at a very early period, and introduced it so generally to the conquered provinces, that, even in *Gaul*, the vines of the district of *Autun* are spoken of in the beginning of the fourth century, as being then decayed through age, and their first plantation was un-

known. Those of Burgundy, also, are supposed to be as old as the age of the Antonines; and the district of *Beaune*—still esteemed for the quality of its wine—is presumed to be that celebrated by the Romans under the name of *Pagus Arebrignus*.*

After the knowledge of wine had become general, and agriculture had been extended beyond that limit “when every rood of ground maintained its man,” the cultivation of vines became an object of the greatest attention. They were planted in furrows, and disposed in rows, either in the form of a square or of a quincunx; and they were supported by reeds which served as props, round which the tendrils twined. Two of these upright stakes, with another across, generally formed the supports of each vine, the branches of which were fastened to them by osier or willow twigs; but in plantations which also contained trees, the vines were attached to them, and the shoots being trained from tree to tree, formed umbrageous arches, whence the clusters of fruit depended in all the luxuriance of richness and of beauty.

This custom, which prevailed throughout ancient Italy, is still maintained in Umbria: Horace al-

* See Gibbon, *Dec. of the Rom. Emp.* vol. i. ch. 2.

ludes to it when he uses the figure of marrying the vine to the poplar, and both Virgil and Catullus employ a similar metaphor:—

———“Aspiring vines

Embrace the *husband elms* in amorous twines.”

Dryden, *Georg. b. ii.*

“As on the naked plain th’ *unwedded vine*

Nor lifts the head, nor forms the generous wine,

But sinking with its weight, its tallest shoot

Reflected, bends to meet the distant root;

Unhonored, worthless, and forlorn it stands,

Untill’d by lab’ring steers, or rustic hands:

But should a *husband elm* its aid extend,

Both lab’ring steers and rustic hinds attend.”

Catullus, *b. xii. 49.*

The vineyards were carefully fenced to preserve them from the encroachment of cattle; and the various operations of cleansing them from weeds, of earthing-up and pruning the plants, and of manuring the ground, were performed with quite as much art and industry as in modern Italy, and appear, indeed, to have differed but little from the present mode of cultivation. The species of grapes they produced were as various as the soils and climate in which they were grown: their original names have only been retained in a few instances, but it is probable that the qualities for which they

were famed yet exist in the produce of the same districts in which the vine is still grown.

Of these the Falernian, and other growths of the territory of Capua, were long in the highest estimation, until they fell into disrepute in consequence of the avidity of the proprietors of the vineyards, who, seduced by a false prospect of profit, used means to increase the quantity without due regard to the quality; but there were many other denominations of almost equal value, and the setine wine of Campania, with the "mellow vintage of the Alban Hill," in the immediate vicinity of Rome, rivalled them in reputation. The latter still preserves its celebrity, although the little care which is taken to preserve it to a proper age doubtless deprives it of much of its ancient worth; but the vineyards of Surrentum, formerly renowned for the salubrity of their wines, have yielded to the more profitable occupation of rearing calves for the supply of modern Naples.

The mode of gathering and pressing the grapes differed in nothing material from the present practice, and the vintage was equally devoted to rustic jollity. The vine-dressers then celebrated a rural feast, termed the *vinalia*, during which they performed a kind of rude comedy, and they poured

libations of the new made wine to Jupiter and Venus. An image of Bacchus was hung upon a tree, not only as an object of veneration and the presiding deity of the occasion, but with the idea that the vineyards to which the figure turned, “while dancing in the wind,” would partake of his favor. Hymns were sung in his praise, and a goat was immolated to him as an expiatory sacrifice for the depredations committed by that animal in browsing on the vines :—

“Thin cakes in chargers, and a guilty goat,
Dragg’d by the horns, be to his altars brought ;
Whose offer’d entrails shall his crime reproach,
And drip their fatness from the hazel broach.”

Dryden’s Virg. Georg. b. ii.

The process of making wine was simple and much the same as that still customary. The finest grapes were first crushed with the feet, after which they were placed in a press, and the joint produce constituted the best quality; the refuse clusters were then added to the pulp and thrown into water, and from this mixture an inferior wine was made for the use of the slaves. Much of the new wine which was intended for preservation, was boiled over a slow fire until only a half, a third, or even a fourth part remained; by which process, aided by

the occasional addition of sea-water* to assist its solution, it lost the greater part of its aqueous particles, and, being mixed with honey and spices, or fragrant herbs, it was distinguished by various names according to the nature of the operation which it had undergone.† The must was also sometimes boiled to a consistence with sour wine, and most of the authors who have described this method expressly say, that leaden or tin vessels were employed for the purpose of rendering it more luscious and durable. It is however certain that this effect could not have been produced by the metals otherwise than by the action of the acid upon them, and as the writings of Galen and other physicians mention the deleterious qualities of white lead, it is hardly possible that they could have been ignorant of the pernicious consequences of their solution. The Roman wine-merchants made use of lime or

* The practice of mixing sea-water with wine is still continued in many parts of the Grecian Archipelago. Arvieux, *Nachricht v. sein Reise*, vol. iv. See also *Henderson's Hist. of Ancient and Modern Wines*, ch. iv.

† The same method is still employed with some of the Italian wine: in Naples it is called *Musto Cotto*; but in Florence it still retains one of its ancient appellations—*Sapa*.

gypsum to correct the acidity of spoiled wine, although such admixture was prohibited by law as being poisonous; but the noxious effects attributed to these substances might, with more probability, be ascribed to the vessels in which it was boiled. Gypsum and calcined shells were also employed to clarify the wine, and potter's-earth as well as the yolk of pigeons' eggs, was sometimes used for the same purpose. Skins were made use of to transport the wine; for the art of making hooped vessels was for a long time unknown: it is supposed that we are indebted for the invention to the Gauls who inhabited the banks of the Po, but at what precise date does not appear.

The wine was kept in jars, formed like urns, some of which, however incredible it may appear, are said to have been so large as, when filled, to have formed a load for a yoke of oxen.* They were usually ranged in cellars, one over the other, but some were hung to the walls, and others were buried in the earth, or even sometimes bedded in solid masonry. They were occasionally also placed in the attics, or on the tops of flat roofed buildings, from an opinion that the action of the

* Pancirollus, *Rer. Memorab.* i. 138. Earthen jars of his form, of very large dimensions, are still used in many parts of the south.

sun and air contributed to ripen the wine, and with a similar view they were sometimes suspended over the smoke of a fire. The mouths of these vessels were sometimes filled up with oil or honey, by which means the air was excluded from the wine without the aid of a stopple; but in general they were stopped with pitch and mastich, or with clay, gypsum, or potter's-earth. Cork was not unknown, and was even occasionally employed, but it does not seem to have been commonly used for that purpose until after the invention of glass-bottles, of which there is no positive mention before the fifteenth century. On these stopples, —sealed also with the signet of the grower, as an attestation of the genuine quality of the contents— it was usual to inscribe the district and the consulship in which the wine was grown, to which Juvenal alludes when he says—

——“ *Cujus patriam, titulumque senectus
Delevit multâ veteris fuligine testæ :*” —

——“ Wines, which cannot now be known,
So much the mould of age has overgrown
The district and the date.” *Gifford, Sat. v.*

It appears, indeed, that wine was commonly kept to a great age, and in some instances for a

length of time* which it has been doubted whether any modern growth, except Rhenish, could support; but this property may, with more probability, be attributed to the process employed by the Romans for preserving the wine than to any superiority in the grape of their day; for the qualities of the vine appear to be more peculiarly under the immediate influence of situation than those of any other plant, and so far as our acquaintance with its produce extends, it is remarkable for yielding the same kind of wine, in particular districts, from time immemorial. Indeed, Pliny tells us, that nothing is more disagreeable than wine that has passed its twentieth year; we may therefore understand with some allowance both what Juvenal says, and that boast of Horace:

———“ And when the year
Revolving bids this festal morn appear,
We'll pierce a cask with mellow juice replete,
Mellow'd with smoke since Tullus ruled the state.”

Francis, lib. iii. Ode 8.

To whatever cause its preservation may be assigned, they certainly were in possession of

* In the public cellars belonging to some of the Hanse Towns, Rhenish wine is preserved still sound, which is said to be at least two hundred years old; and throughout Germany the superior growths of the same wine, of more than half a century back, are by no means uncommon.

wines of a very extraordinary age : some is mentioned by the elder Pliny that was made in the consulship of L. Opimius—whence it obtained the name of Opimian—and was consequently then near two centuries old ; it had a bitter taste, and had acquired the consistence of honey, but it is probable that the latter quality was artificial. It was chiefly employed to give strength and flavor to other wine, with which it was mixed in small quantities ; and the price of it was so excessive, that the value of an ounce weight of it has been calculated by some commentators at the enormous sum of four pounds sterling ! But a recent author who has treated the subject with great intelligence and research,* estimates it, with greater probability, at about twenty shillings the bottle.

Notwithstanding the excellence of the Italian wines, those of Greece were in greater estimation ; particularly that from the Island of Chios—the modern Scio—in the Grecian archipelago, which was so high priced, that, at the greatest entertainments, only one cup of it was presented to

* Henderson, *Hist. of Anc. and Mod. Wines*, ch. iv. and *Append.* x. It may, however, be observed that, calculating on the principle of *compound interest*—which has not been adopted by Dr. Henderson—the former calculation of the *value*, though not perhaps of the *price*, could not have been far from the truth.

each guest. In process of time, however, it was lavished in equal profusion with every other luxury. We are told, that Lucullus gave a fête to the people, on his return from Asia, at which there was expended a quantity of wine equal to 100,000 gallons; and Cæsar gave public entertainments, at the celebration of four different triumphs in the same month, at each of which the tables flowed with Falernian and Chian.*

Mead, metheglin, and other fermented liquors, were also known to the Romans. Pliny says, that nearly two hundred different sorts were in use; but among this number, it is to be presumed that he included the various denominations of wine. He speaks of a kind of beer that was made by fermenting several species of grain in water, and mentions it as an instance of the depravity of the times, that men, not satisfied with wine, contrived that even water should contribute to inebriate them;† but it does not appear that they were acquainted with the distillation of ardent spirits.

* Dr. Hill says, that the usual price of the best Grecian wine did not exceed seven or eight pounds sterling a hogshead: but that an amphora, or seven gallons, of similar quality, when matured by age, sold for the same sum. *Essays on Ant. Greece*, ess. xv.

† Plin. *Hist. Nat.* l. xiv. c. 22.

CHAP. IX.

ON COMMERCE, MANUFACTURES, AND MONEY.

Foreign Trade—Merchant Vessels—Communication with Arabia and India—Discovery of the Monsoon—Island of Ceylon—Imports and Exports—Maritime Insurance—Bills of Exchange—Bankers—Interest of Money—Coins—Manufactures—Cloth—Weaving—Dyeing.

THE foreign commerce of the Romans appears very unimportant when compared with the extensive mercantile transactions of our own times. They traded, it is true, not only to the East Indies, but to all the ports of the Mediterranean, and occasionally even to those of Britain. But, if we except the corn received on account of government from Sicily and the Levant, their importations consisted of little else than articles of mere luxury; and having no exportable manufactures of their own, nor—except wine—any surplus produce of the soil, their purchases were necessarily made in bullion; a medium which must, of itself, have narrowed the limits of their commercial dealings, if other causes also had not contri-

buted to circumscribe them. The interests of commerce were little understood, and less appreciated ; traffic was considered dishonorable, and they who engaged in it were held in contempt ; men of capital consequently would not devote themselves to it, and it was very generally relinquished to slaves and freedmen, who seldom possessed means to conduct it on a liberal scale. But these traders, however personally insignificant, were numerous. We have indeed but little direct information concerning their operations, for the writers of those times considered the subject unworthy of notice ; but we learn, incidentally, that they were settled in the most distant provinces of the empire, and that, in consequence, no doubt, of the large profits usually attendant on commercial speculation when unexposed to competition, and more particularly in an age when maritime enterprize was rare, and all distant adventure regarded as marvellous, many of them finally realized vast fortunes. Their most important foreign trade was to the coast of Malabar, yet its real amount is supposed to have, for a long time, fallen short of a million sterling ; but through the imposts with which it was loaded, the vast expense at which it was conducted, and the enormous gains of those engaged in it, it has been computed that

some of the goods cost the Italian consumer near one hundred times their original value : nor will even this immense advance on the original price excite much surprise if we consider the difficulties, as well as the charges, with which a commerce so conducted must have been surrounded.*

Their merchant-ships were of a size proportioned to the kind of coasting trade to which they were necessarily confined by the imperfect state of navigation which preceded the discovery of the polar attraction of the magnet ; and accordingly, we find that, in the time of Julius Cæsar, vessels of that description were considered large if they reached the burden of fifty tons. We read, indeed, of some having been built by the Ptolemies of greater measurement than any since known : one ship, which conveyed from Egypt a celebrated obelisk of one solid block of granite eighty feet in length, that formerly stood in the Circus of Nero, and is now erected before the church of St. Peter, is said to have been ballasted with more than a thousand tons of grain, and another to have been

* It is supposed that most of the goods were at that period conveyed from the interior of India by land-carriage to the Mediterranean ; and the name of a Macedonian merchant is recorded, who traded, through his agents, directly overland into China. *Vincent, Dissertation on the Sinæ, part ii.*

four hundred English feet in length; but these must be viewed as phenomena in the naval architecture of that period.

Although Rome had been supplied with the products of the east long previous to the extension of her empire to that region, yet she only obtained them through the medium of the other maritime states of the Mediterranean; it was not until after the subjugation of Egypt, in the reign of Augustus, that the trade became exclusively her own, and even for ages after that period it seems to have been, individually, rather in the hands of Greeks than of native citizens.

Alexandria, which had then become the emporium of the commerce of the Levant, was the centre of this communication; and the commercial intercourse with India was not only much extended, but it is natural to conclude that the commodities of that country were obtained in Europe on more favorable terms. From that port the goods intended for the Indian markets were sent by the Nile to Coptus, a city nearly on the banks of that river, at about four hundred miles from its mouth; and from thence they were forwarded by land-carriage to the ports of Myos Hormus, and Benenikè, on the Red Sea. The situation of these ports has not been precisely ascertained, but

there is no doubt that the position of the former was in lat. 27° N.—where the Jaffeteen Isles are situate—and that of the latter was probably about lat. $23^{\circ} 28'$ N. at a place now called Foul Bay, and which, it is remarkable, was also denominated by the Romans *sinus impurus*.* The transit of the goods from Coptus to these havens occupied from eight to twelve days: the journey was performed in caravans of camels, and the merchants were attended by a guard to protect them from the depredations of the wandering hordes of Arabs, by whom the country was then, as now, infested, and who from time immemorial appear to have lived by plunder.

An intercourse had subsisted in the earliest ages between the coast of Egypt and the shores of Arabia, for the ports of which country we learn that, soon after the occupation of Alexandria by the Romans, a fleet of one hundred and twenty merchant vessels sailed annually from Myos Hormus. In Arabia they found the products not only of that country, but of India, with which the natives are supposed to have traded from the remotest period of antiquity; and with those they returned, and distributed them through the chan-

* Vincent's *Periplus of the Erythræan Sea*, b. ii.

nels already mentioned, over Italy and the rest of Europe. It does not any where clearly appear that the fleets of the Ptolemies ever traded directly to India, although it seems probable that single ships may have attained it by a coasting, and consequently tedious voyage ; but in the reign of the emperor Claudius, the Romans discovered the nature of the monsoon, and favored by this periodical wind—which afterwards obtained the name of *Hippalus*, from the bold adventurer who was the first to profit by it—they launched into the open sea, and reached the coast of Malabar by a direct navigation.*

From this period, the island of Ceylon, then known in Europe by the name of Taprobana, became the central mart of their Indian trade, which they maintained without interruption during more than five centuries. It does not appear that they extended their discoveries farther ; but the Roman merchants were there met by those of Bengal, of China, and of every quarter of the east, from whom they purchased commodities for the European markets. An enumeration of these has been preserved in a rescript of the emperor Commodus for the regulation of the customs in

* Vincent's Voyage of Nearchus, *Prelim. Disq.* s. viii.

Egypt, towards the close of the second century of the Christian æra, and has been connected with a catalogue of goods mentioned in the voyage of a Roman merchant engaged in that traffic at a still earlier period, and published, with a very learned commentary, in the appendix to Dr. Vincent's most erudite and interesting account of the navigation of the ancients, in the *Periplûs* of the Erythræan sea. These curious documents furnish the most correct illustration now extant of the ancient oriental commerce, and they contain ample proof that the trade, which is known to have existed as long as history contains a record, is still the same in all its material features, if not in all its most minute details, that it was more than sixteen hundred years back.

The chief imports into Italy from India consisted of the various drugs and spices known at the present day, among which cinnamon formed a very prominent article; of cotton cloths, chintz, and muslins, from the coasts of Coromandel and of Malabar; of silk from China; and of large quantities of jewelry, but principally of diamonds and pearls, the former of which it is supposed were supplied by the mines of Jumelphur, in Bengal, and the latter were procured from the same fish-

eries—near Cape Comorin—where they are still found.*

From Persia and Arabia they procured the richest carpets, silk and embroidered stuffs, and dyed leather, together with rice and sugar. This latter article, indeed, is mentioned as “honey from the cane;” but it also bore the Arabic name of *shuker*, and, indeed, it is difficult to conceive that the Roman merchants, who were personally engaged in this traffic, could have remained wholly ignorant of a substance which is supposed to have been produced from time immemorial in the east. That it was not commonly transported to Rome, as an article of trade, may be accounted for by its great bulk and trifling comparative value, which must alone have formed serious objections to its transport, if the defective communication between the countries was not of itself an insurmountable obstacle. These observations would equally apply to coffee, which is an indigenous plant of Arabia Felix, and found in great abundance on the shores of the Red Sea, were it also certain that its cultivation for domestic purposes dated as far back as that of sugar; and even tea may have been procured from China; but it must be admitted that

* Vincent, *Perip.* p. 489. and *App.* 59.—See also Gibbon, *Decl. of the Rom. Emp.* vol. i. ch. 2.

mention is not made of these articles in any of the ancient Greek or Roman authors.

Besides these various products of the eastern world, Rome also imported glass and earthenware from Egypt, slaves from Abyssinia and the coast of Barbary, and valuable furs and amber from the north of Europe; from different parts of the Mediterranean she drew supplies of grain; from Spain she obtained iron and steel, together with some of the precious metals; and from England, with which she held an intercourse by sea as well as overland, she procured considerable quantities of tin.*

Some writers on Maritime Law have assumed that the Romans were acquainted with the modern practice of insuring their ships against the perils of the sea, by which the risk of foreign speculation is lessened, and the merchant is enabled to trade not only with greater security, but consequently to a greater extent than he could without

* Much stress has been laid by some authors on the fact that tin was in use at a very early period among the Greeks and Romans, as proof of the antiquity of a trade between those nations, or the Phenicians, and Britain; but it should be remembered that tin is also a produce of India, with which there was a much earlier communication: it is supposed to have been alluded to in the Old Testament under the name of *beryl*.

such a guaranty. The supposition, however, rests only on the slender foundation of a passage in Livy, wherein it is stated, that a company had contracted to supply the army in Spain with clothing and other necessities, “on condition of being indemnified by the government for any losses they might experience in their transport by sea, either through tempest or the enemy;” * and on a similar engagement mentioned by another author as having been made with some merchants by the emperor Claudius; † but no traces of such a custom are to be found in any of the ancient jurists, and had it existed, it is to be presumed that some enactments regarding it would have formed part of the Roman law.

On the equally slight ground of an expression used by Cicero, in one of his familiar letters, it has also been conjectured, that they were accustomed to draw bills of exchange in the manner now practised to facilitate mercantile transactions; but the phrase itself is vague, and may with equal probability be applied to insurance, nor has any additional authority been found to corroborate the

* “*Ut quæ in naves imposuissent ab hostium tempestatisque vi publico periculo essent.*” Livius, *lib. xiii. cap. 44.*

† Suetonius, *lib. v. cap. 78.*

construction that has been placed on it.* We have proof, however, that the Roman bankers—who, it appears, were entrusted with the current cash of the state, as well as of many wealthy persons—paid the written orders of those who had money in their hands, in the same manner as those of the present day discharge the drafts upon them; and it is not improbable that these may have been made payable at distant dates, and may have been used as negotiable securities. It would seem, also, that the mode of keeping their accounts was somewhat similar, as they made entries of debtor and creditor (*Tabulæ accepti et expensi*), and transferred sums from the credit of one to that of another when payment was not required in coin. Indeed, as the profits of banking consist in the interest of money, which must be estimated on the smallest sums and portions of time, and requires very minute calculation, we may conclude that those who made it a profession were conversant with all the necessary details, however they may have been embarrassed in the statement of their accounts by the employment of their com-

* “*Laodicæ me Prædes accepturum arbitror omnis pecuniæ publicæ, ut et mihi et populo cautum sit sine vecturæ periculo.*” *Cicero, Epist. ad fam. ii. ep. 17.*

plex numerals instead of the simple Arabic figures now in use.

It would appear from the terms on which, as we have already seen, Trajan's benefaction was invested,* that the annual interest of money at that period was five per cent; but it was not so regulated by law, as we learn from the correspondence of the younger Pliny, that he had himself placed a considerable sum on mortgage, during the same reign, at six per cent, and that twelve per cent was customary on personal security.† We have, however, the evidence of cotemporary writers that even that rate of interest was not always considered sufficient, and the satirists of the day are full of complaints of the rapacity of usurers. Indeed, long previous to that period, the enormous return exacted for the use of money was found so oppressive, that, in the time of Augustus, the government, in order to check the evil, converted the confiscated property of criminals into a fund from which sums were lent, for stipulated periods, free of interest, to those who could give security for double the amount; and a similar

* See page 45.

† Plin. *Epist. lib. vii. cp. 18. et lib. x. cp. 62.*

measure was adopted by several succeeding emperors. *

In the infancy of the commonwealth coined money was unknown to the Romans: their only circulating medium consisted in unstamped copper bars of one pound each; and it was not until the expediency of distinguishing it by some known mark induced them to imprint the figure of a sheep or an ox on the bars, that it obtained the name of money—*pecunia*—from their term for cattle.† At this weight the *As*—as it was denominated—continued to circulate until the first punic war, when the government reduced it to two ounces, and, still retaining its nominal value, paid off the debts of the state in this debased currency. The same expedient was again resorted to during the successes of Hannibal in Italy, when it was further diminished to one ounce, and may be considered as about equal to our penny.

The precious metals were, during a long period, so rare in Rome, that on the capture of the city by the Gauls, in the fourth century from its foundation, no more than one thousand pounds weight of gold could be collected for its ransom; and

* Suetonius, *in vit. Aug. et in vit. Tiberii*. Tacitus, *Annal. l. vi. c. 17*. Ælius Lamprid: *in vit. Alex. Severi*, c. 21.

† Plin. *Hist. Nat. lib. xxxiii. c. 13*.

silver was not coined until the year 485.* The *Denarius* then nominally represented ten pounds of copper, but its weight was only the seventh part of an ounce, and its intrinsic worth was not quite eight pence of our money. The *Quinarius*—also called the *Victoriatas*—was half that value, and the *Sestertius*, or Sesterce—which was the coin in most common circulation—one-fourth. Besides these, there were various other coins of smaller denominations, and the value of all was subject to much fluctuation in consequence of the frequent reduction both of the weight and fineness of the metal.

The only gold coin of note was the *Aureus*, or golden denarius, of the current value of one hundred sesterces, and even this was not introduced until the middle of the sixth century of the Roman æra: its real worth was afterwards much diminished, but it continued, notwithstanding, to pass at its original rate under the altered name of *Solidus*.

Large sums were usually computed by the *Sestertium*, which was a nominal money of account comprising 1000 sesterces, or 8*l.* 1*s.* 6*d.* sterling. The *Talent of silver*, so frequently mentioned in history, consisted of twenty-four sestertia, or 24,000 sesterces.

* Plin. *Hist. Nat. lib.* xxxiii. c. 5 et 13.

As Rome never became a commercial state, her manufactures were necessarily confined to articles of common domestic use, and those of greater ingenuity and value which were general after an intercourse with foreign nations and the extension of her dominions and her wealth had introduced the products of other countries, continued to be imported from abroad. The desire of acquiring independence naturally stimulated the talent and the exertion of many individuals, but it gave no decided impulse to the national industry ; and as the country did not even supply a sufficiency of corn for the wants of the population, she consequently possessed no corresponding amount of exports. Articles of foreign manufacture were therefore paid for by the produce of the immense estates granted to the officers of government in the conquered provinces, and by the heavy sums exacted from her foreign subjects,* the large revenue derived from which source was chiefly expended among Roman citizens.

The manufacture of cloth formed an important part of domestic economy from the earliest period

* The revenue derived from the city of Alexandria alone, during the reign of the emperors, has been calculated to have amounted to upwards of six millions sterling, and is supposed never to have fallen short of 2,500,000*l.* during the whole period of the Roman dominion in Egypt.

of the state, and although, in the latter ages, it ceased to engage the attention of the Roman ladies, it yet appears that some of the slaves in most families were employed in it; which custom, together with that of only weaving, in one web, just so much as would form the garment for which it was intended, will partly account for the otherwise singular fact, that no mention occurs in the Roman authors of cloth manufactories, or even of cloth as an article of commerce, nor do we any where read of its being measured.

The process of weaving appears to have been conducted in much the same manner as at present, allowing for the minute differences which must have arisen from the improvements in machinery. The Roman loom, or at least that part of it to which the web was attached, consisted of a round beam placed across two upright posts; the web, therefore, hung perpendicularly, and the weaver worked in a standing posture, and wrought upwards, which method is still retained in the manufacture of tapestry and some kinds of carpetting. But the art was deficient in the branch of dressing the cloth; our mode of shearing it seems not to have been understood, and the operation of pressing is supposed not to have been employed until the beginning of the sixteenth century: the rough wool was merely combed off, partly with

the skin of a hedge-hog, and partly with the tops of the thistle, and the whole process of smoothing appears to have consisted in making the nap lie as even as possible one way.

As the clothes commonly worn were of white cloth, the occupation of the fuller was extensive, and afforded employment to great numbers, until the introduction of silk and linen, and the adoption of colours, in some measure, superseded it. Various kinds of earth appear to have been employed in cleaning the cloth: to render it perfectly white it was fumigated with sulphur, and washed with a kind of potter's-earth which adhered to it, and which probably resembled that which we call pipe-clay; but the lower classes seem to have seldom used any other means to improve the appearance of their holiday-clothes than that of simply rubbing them with chalk. Much cloth was, however, manufactured of brown undyed wool, of the native colour of the sheep: this was commonly used by the lower orders, but its homely plainness was not devoid of value in the eyes of persons of a superior class, by whom it was sometimes worn when they were resident in the country.

The Romans were indebted to the eastern nations for their acquaintance with the mode of imparting colours to cloth, and, consequently, it

was not until a late period of the republic that dye-houses were established in Italy.

Our knowledge, both of the colours in general use, and of the means employed in producing them, is very imperfect. Purple was the imperial dye, and is the most frequently mentioned by classic authors; but under that denomination is included every shade from violet to the deepest red. The most valued tint resembled that of clot-
ted blood, and next to that was the Tyrian twice dyed,* of a lighter hue, which was procured from the shell-fish known as the *murex*. This is generally supposed to have been peculiar to the neighbourhood of Tyre, but it only obtained that reputation from having been first extensively used in the manufactories of that celebrated commercial city, for it is found in various parts of the Levant, and on the Atlantic shores of Africa; Melibœa, a city of Thessaly, was noted for its production; and so, it appears, was Ancona on the Adriatic :—

“ The wool, when shaded with Ancona's dye,
May with the proudest Tyrian purple vie.”

ADDISON, *Silius Italicus*, b. viii.

The colour it imparted was not only brilliant but

* We learn, from Pliny, that this dye-stuff—the *dibapha tyria*—was sold in Rome at the rate of a thousand denarii, for their pound, which was equal to 10 oz. 18 dwt. 14 gr. Troy wt.

Hist. Nat. lib. ix. l. 3.

permanent,* but either the art of using it has been lost, or it has been superseded by more efficient dyes.

Orchilla weed and Indigo were likewise used for the same purpose; and so, also, was the kermes more generally known by the name of cochineal, which was then collected in various parts of the south of Europe, and in Asia, but which has since been superseded by the superior quality of that which is now procured from Mexico. But although the latter is at present employed to produce the brightest scarlet, and that term is often applied synonymously with the Roman purple, it yet appears certain that the Romans only used it to form the ground of their dark red, and that they were wholly ignorant of the actual mode of dying real scarlet.

The silk of the eastern world was usually imported in a manufactured state; it was not until the middle of the sixth century of our æra that it was produced in Europe, and so slow was the progress of the manufacture that more than five hundred years elapsed before it was established in Italy.

* "The murex purple dyes so fixed remain

In thirsty wool, not all the briny main,—

Not ocean's liquid world,—would wash away the stain."

Busby's Lucretius, b. vi.

The raw material was, for a long time, of the same value, weight for weight, in Rome, as gold, and the exorbitance of the price placing it beyond the reach of the public in its pure state, it was commonly mixed with wool and converted into a light kind of stuff: a large portion of the manufactured article was also unravelled and rewove in a similar manner.

The remains which have been discovered of arms and domestic utensils prove that the manufacture of the various metals was carried to a considerable degree of perfection. That which we denominate bronze was composed of gold, silver, and copper, but the art of fabricating it was lost before the commencement of the Imperial government. The most valued species is said to have been formed by the accidental commixture of various metals which were melted in the conflagration of the city of Corinth; but it was already so scarce in the reign of Trajan, that the younger Pliny mentions it as a curiosity, and another author describes it as—

“ Corinthian brass, more precious far than gold.”

STATIUS, *Sylv.* 2.

CHAP. X.

ON THE COMPUTATION OF TIME.

Solar-dials—Water-Clocks—Clepsydræ—Divisions of the day and night—Vigils of the Romans and the Jews—Ancient division of the Year—Intercalary Months—Julian Year—New Style—Lustra—Kalends, Nones, and Ides—Weeks.

ROME had existed almost five centuries ere its inhabitants distinguished any other divisions of the day than morning, noon, and night. The laws of the twelve tables only mention the rising and the setting of the sun; and it was not until some years after their promulgation, that the meridian was proclaimed from the Senate-house, on those days when the sun's height could be ascertained by actual observation.

Pliny tells us, on the faith of an ancient historian, that the first instrument used by the Romans for the measurement of time, was a solar dial, which the Censor L. Papirius Cursor placed in the porch of the Temple of Quirinus, twelve years before the war with Pyrrhus.* But he seems to

* Plin. *Hist. Nat.* l. vii. c. 60.

doubt the accuracy of that account, and prefers that of Varro, who attributes its introduction to M. Valerius Messala, and says, that it was brought from Sicily in the year of Rome 477, and was affixed to a pillar of the Rostrum, during the first punic war. Although this dial, being calculated for a different meridian, could not mark the time with precision at Rome, it was not the less conformed to during an entire century, until Q. Marcus Philippus, who was censor along with Paulus Emilius, erected one more correct; and of all the acts of his censorship it was that which obtained him the greatest applause. A few years afterwards, Scipio Nasica exhibited a water-clock, which ascertained the hours during the night as well as the day.

Vitruvius attributes the invention of water-clocks to Ctesibius, a native of Alexandria, who lived in the time of the two first Ptolemies.* To form an idea of them, we must imagine a basin filled with water, which was emptied in twelve hours, by means of a small hole in the bottom, into another vessel of equal capacity, in which the water rose by degrees around a column on which the hours were marked perpendicularly. They

* Vitruv. *de Architect.* l. ix. c. 9.

were usually ornamented with a small figure, made of cork, which floated on the surface, and pointed to the characters on the column. These clocks differed from those invented in Greece, which the ancients denominated *Clepsydræ*; which consisted of a glass, of a pyramidal, or conic form, perforated at the base, and which, being filled with a liquid, denoted the time, as it subsided, by means of lines traced on the sides. The Romans made use of both, with several slight varieties of construction, and termed them night-clocks, and winter-clocks, in contradistinction to the dials, which were useless during the night, and of but little service, in winter, during the day.

In families of distinction, slaves were kept purposely to attend to these clocks, and report the hour, and it has been supposed that from this custom was derived that of watchmen announcing the time of night, which prevails throughout a great part of Europe; but it does not any where appear that such was the public practice in Rome.

Some passages in classic authors have been adduced as proof that the ancients were acquainted with the clocks now in use; but they are not sufficiently clear to warrant that conclusion, and many ages are supposed to have passed before the art of constructing them was discovered. Both the period

and the inventor are uncertain, and have been variously ascribed; but professor Beckmann, whose authority is entitled to the greatest attention, ascribes the invention to the eleventh century, and seems inclined to confer the honor of it on the Saracens.

The ancient Romans divided the day and night into twelve hours each, counting from the rising to the setting of the sun, without distinction of season; the hours of the day were, therefore, longer than those of the night in summer, and shorter in winter, and could only be equal during the Equinox.* The first hour of the morning commencing at sunrise, the sixth was noon, and the twelfth sunset; night then began, and the sixth hour was midnight. This division of time originated with the Babylonians, from whom the Greeks first received, and the Romans, in imitation of them, afterwards adopted it. But, under the emperors, they began to perceive that it was inconvenient; and the manner, now in use, of counting the twenty-four hours in two equal divisions, from midnight to midnight, was gradually

* “*Equinox.*” At this period of the year, the Roman hours would answer to our own in the following manner:—

Roman....i. ii. iii. iv. v. vi. vii. viii. ix. x. xi. ii.

English,.vii. viii. ix. x. xi. xii. i. ii. iii. iv. v. vi.

introduced. It appears that it was already established in the reign of Hadrian; and it has been generally adopted throughout Europe, with the exception of Italy, where they count the hours in succession, without any division, from the setting of the sun.

The day was, besides, divided into four equal parts, and the night into as many watches. The divisions of the day were distinguished by the number of the hour at which each commenced: the first watch of the night, beginning at sunset, was termed *evening*; the second, *midnight*; the third, *cock-crowing*; and the fourth, *the time of silence*. Mention is made of these vigils in the New Testament—in Luke xii. 38.—Matt. xiv. 28.—and in Mark xiii. 35. where our Saviour, recommending his disciples to watch and pray, says—“*watch ye therefore; for ye know not when the master of the house cometh, at even, or at midnight, or at the cock-crowing, or in the morning.*”—But the Old Testament, although it speaks of the first, second, and third watch, nowhere alludes to a fourth; for the Jews only divided the night into three, and they borrowed the division of it into four from the Romans; from whom they also took the method of reckoning twelve hours to the day, and the same number to the night.

Tradition states that the year was first arranged in parts in the time of Romulus, at which early period a brazen stud was annually affixed to the gate of the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus to commemorate the number of its revolutions; and even when the progress of literature had rendered such a record unnecessary, the ceremony was still continued, and performed with much pomp by the Consuls. It then consisted of only ten lunar months, commencing with March—*Martius*, so called from Mars, his supposed father. It is imagined that April—*Aprilis*, took its name from a Greek appellation of Venus; May—*Maius*, from Maia the mother of Mercury; and June—*Junius*, from the goddess Juno. The others were called, from the order in which they occurred, *Quintilis*, *Sextilis*, *September*, *October*, *November*, and *December*; but *Quintilis* was afterwards changed to *Julius*—July, in honor of Julius Cæsar, and *Sextilis* to *Augustus*—August, in that of the emperor of that name. Numa divided it into twelve lunar months, and added January—*Januarius*, which he so named after the god Janus; and February—*Februarius*—then the last month—from a sacrifice termed *Februalia*, which was performed at that period in expiation of the sins of the entire year. But, as this mode of division did not correspond

with the course of the sun, he ordained that an *intercalary month* should be added every other year. His intention was, that it should consist of a number of days equal to the difference between the lunar months and the solar year; but, the intercalation being entrusted to the Pontiffs, they, from interested motives, used to insert fewer, or more days, and thus made the current year shorter or longer, as best suited the views of those among their friends whose employments in the service of the state terminated along with it; in consequence of which irregularity, the months were, in process of time, transposed from their proper seasons, and the termination of the year became uncertain. To remedy this abuse, Julius Cæsar abolished the intercalary month; and, with the assistance of Sosigenes, a skilful astronomer of Alexandria, he, in the year of Rome 707, arranged the year according to the course of the sun, commencing with the first of January, and assigned to each month the number of days which they still retain. This is the celebrated *Julian*, or *solar year*, which has been since maintained, without any other alteration than that of the *new style*, introduced by Pope Gregory A. D. 1582, and adopted in England in 1752, when eleven days were dropped between the 2d and 14th of September; by which

means the error in the original calculation was corrected, and a repetition of it is guarded against for a long period of the future, by the insertion of one intercalary day in every fourth, or leap-year.*

Great praise is given, and is, unquestionably, eminently due to the astronomers who regulated the Gregorian year, and they who are best acquainted with the abstruseness of the requisite calculations will most highly appreciate the value of their labours. But when we consider the probable imperfection of all mathematical instruments in the time of Sosigenes, and the total want of telescopes, we cannot but view with admiration, not unmingled with astonishment, that comprehensive genius which, in the infancy of science, could surmount such difficulties, and arrange a system that succeeding ages have only been able to improve, but not to alter.

As a revision of the several orders of the state took place every fifth year, it became necessary to

* As the error in the Julian year was not quite six hours, the intercalation of a day in every fourth year cannot rectify the error with precision ; but, as the difference is only about three quarters of an hour in four years, more than a century must elapse ere it can amount to an entire day ; and then, that error will be rectified by omitting the intercalation in one leap-year.

apply some definite expression to the completion of that period; the full term of five years was therefore called a *Lustrum*, and the records of the census are accordingly dated by lustra.

The Roman months were divided into three parts, by days denominated *Kalends*, *Nones*, and *Ides*. They commenced with the *Kalends*: the *Nones* occurred on the 5th, and the *Ides* on the 13th; except in March, May, July, and October, when they fell on the 7th and 15th. The days were counted backwards in their respective divisions: thus, the 2d of the month was termed the 4th of the *Kalends*; the 6th, the eighth of the *Nones*; and the 14th, the eighteenth of the *Ides*; except in those months already particularized, when the 2d was the sixth of the *Kalends*, and the 8th the eighth of the *Nones*; and in those other, in which a variation in their length occasioned a corresponding alteration in the number of the *Ides*.

The manner of reckoning by weeks was not introduced until late in the second century of the Christian æra: it was borrowed from the Egyptians, and the days were named after the planets, which appellations they still partially retain in the modern languages.

CHAP. XI.

ON THE STATE OF SOCIETY IN ANCIENT ROME.

Occupations—Civil Dissensions—Progress of Luxury—
Change of Manners—Sumptuary Laws—Corruption of the
Government—Administration of Justice.

HISTORIANS consider the details of domestic manners of such secondary importance to the great national events which form the chief subject of their memoirs, that it is but seldom they deign to intersperse their narratives with pictures of common life. Hence, those ancient writers, who at different periods endeavoured to retrace the lost records of the Roman history, found but few memorials of former customs in the works of cotemporary authors; and the scenes which daily passed under their own observation, having been, from their familiarity, viewed without interest, were deemed unworthy of being transmitted to posterity. We are thus without any more accurate acquaintance with the early customs of the Romans than may be collected from their traditionary legends, until about the sixth century of their history; and even after that period the information we possess is only

to be gleaned from the poets and the satirists of the age.

Of the state of society in Rome, during the remote periods of the commonwealth, we therefore only generally know that, under their kings, the ordinary wants of life and the dangers of war divided their cares during more than two centuries.

Under the consuls, when they were not occupied in foreign warfare, their attention was engaged at home by the more dangerous evil of domestic strife. A struggle for power on the part of the patricians, and for independence on that of the plebeians, kept Rome in an almost constant state of division and of agitation, which arose not so much from reciprocal animosity, as from the ill-conduct of men in place—from the ambitious designs of the consuls, and the seditious enterprises of the tribunes. The interference of the senate was often employed to check these dissensions, and a timely relaxation of its authority sometimes prevented the excesses to which the people might otherwise have been hurried; but this condescension was not unfrequently abused, and only palliated, without curing the evil.

Rome, therefore, by turns convulsed by internal discord and by foreign hostility, only enjoyed repose at intervals. This leisure was devoted to

agriculture, in which all classes were then equally occupied; and the patrician and plebeian orders, so distinct in the city, were confounded, in the country, in the common avocations of husbandry. The first magistrates, and the greatest generals, were engaged in the toils of the field; and the same hand which directed the plough was often chosen to guide the helm of the state, or to wield the truncheon of its armies. Far from considering themselves degraded by these rustic pursuits, the senators were almost constantly occupied in them; and the custom of residing on their estates was so general, that there was a regular establishment of couriers, whose duty it was to summon them when any extraordinary business required their attendance in the senate. This general attention to husbandry was then, indeed, as much the effect of necessity as choice; for the lands of the commonwealth having been divided, in equal and very minute portions, among all its subjects, each was obliged to labour for his own subsistence; and a long time elapsed ere the introduction of commerce, and the consequent acquisition of wealth, enabled individuals to purchase the estates of their fellow-citizens, and to obtain a revenue from the rent of land, rather than from its cultivation.

Thus in the early, and the happiest period of the republic, the Romans were all, except the lowest artisans, at once agriculturists and soldiers; and though for the most part residing always in the country, yet, being all denizens of Rome, they were considered as citizens, and were addressed under the common appellation of *Quirites*, which they acquired from that of *Quirinus*, a name conferred on Romulus after he had been ranked among the gods.

The greater number only visited the city on every ninth day: they went there to provide themselves with those necessities which were not to be procured in the country; to interchange commodities; and to examine the new laws which the magistrates caused to be posted on the Capitol, and in the market-place, during three such days consecutively, before they were presented to the general assembly of the people for confirmation.

It was on these *market-days** that the tribunes used to harangue the people on the affairs of government; and it was those harangues which fomented the misunderstanding between the patrician and plebeian orders during the whole period

* They were called *Nundinæ*, from their occurring on the ninth day; and the full term of "three such days" *Trinundinum*. *Tit. Liv. l. iii. c. 35. Dionys, l. ii. c. 28. et. vii. 58.*

of the republic. But notwithstanding the seditions which they excited, more than three centuries elapsed, after the deposition of the kings, before they occasioned blood to be spilled in Rome. Love of their country, and the conviction that the interests of both orders, however apparently separate, were really united, and that the ruin of the one would entail destruction on the other, produced this happy effect; and the horrors of civil warfare were reserved for those times when riches and luxury had corrupted their morals, when the probity and the simplicity by which they had been distinguished were effaced, and their pristine attachment to their rustic homes and labours was superseded by new desires. Then, indeed, Roman armies, which had heretofore warred only upon strangers, were seen to contend against each other with more than the fury of foreign enemies, and Rome was deluged with the blood of her own citizens.*

This change was the natural consequence of their aggrandizement. When, after the second Punic war, they had extended their conquests into Greece, Asia, and Syria, and when at length they had destroyed Carthage, then it was that, forgetting their ancient manners, they adopted those of

* Tit. Liv. l. vii. c. 40.

the nations they had subdued, and became slaves to the vices of the very men who had submitted to their arms. Invincible in toil, in danger, and in adversity, they yielded to the sweets of repose and prosperity; from a people accustomed only to war, and the labors of the field, they became a nation enervated by voluptuousness; and unmindful of their former glory, and the means by which they had acquired it, they gave way to all the allurements of pleasure. "There reigned over every action of life,"—says a celebrated historian,—“a refinement of sensuality which anticipated each natural want: heat and cold were divested of all their inconvenience; hunger and thirst were rather courted than satisfied; and sleep came, not so much the balmy restorer of exhausted nature, as the precursor of new pleasures.”* In a moment, as it were, the face of every thing at Rome was changed: professors appeared in arts which were before unknown; the magnificence of their buildings, the variety and splendor of their furniture, the costliness and elegance of their dress, and the delicacy of their tables, became a study as inviting as it was new, and was pursued with an ardor which exceeded all bounds. They then resigned the toils of the farm, and the cares of the house-

* Sallust. *Bell. Cat.* c. 13.

hold, to their menials, reserving to themselves those employments alone which were either agreeable, or considered honorable; and hence arose that vast multitude of slaves, who were counted by thousands, and distinguished by nations.

Some feeble attempts were, indeed, made to repress the progress of luxury, and many sumptuary laws were passed, during the war with Hannibal: but these, with other restraints that had been imposed on the growing licentiousness of the times, were repealed about twenty years afterwards, when the battle of Zama had dissipated the fears to which they owed their enactment; and similar ordinances, at a later period, were either disregarded, or annulled.

Cato the Censor forcibly represented to the senate the fatal consequences which foreign innovations on their ancient customs might entail on the republic. Nor were his fears imaginary: all that he had predicted failed not to occur: luxury, which entered Rome, as if in triumph, together with the spoils of the conquered nations, stifled that love of virtue and of toil in which the honor of the Roman name and the strength of the republic had consisted; the domestic duties of well ordered life gave way to irregularity and indolence, and the love of pleasure bore down every rule of

moral conduct; poverty was considered as disgrace, and opulence became the only road to power and to fame; moderation and public spirit were supplanted by avarice and ambition; and patriotism made but a feeble stand against the overwhelming tide of corruption, which engulfed every honorable sentiment and generous feeling in its vortex. Statesmen, whose unambitious prudence had been the admiration of the universe, entered into competition for power, and for place, not unfrequently supporting their pretensions by open violence, and when exhausted by excess of prodigality, they accepted of the government of distant provinces only to plunder them. Immense sums were thus drawn from abroad to support their interest at Rome; and they pillaged the allies, and even the subjects of the republic, the more easily to corrupt and enslave their fellow-citizens.*

In vain did the oppressed inhabitants of the provinces seek redress at Rome: the decision of suits depended on a multitude of judges, who—themselves frequently implicated in similar crimes—prostituted their decision to favor, or to bribery, and arrested the course of justice. The laws, indeed, gave the people the right to compel resti-

* Tit. Liv. *lib.* xxxiv. c. 4.

tution ; but they were enforced only against petty depredators, and yielded, in important cases, to private influence and to power.*

This corruption, which had its source among the rich and great, did not fail to infect the middle order. The distinction of rank between the patrician and plebeian was lost in the more envied one of wealth, and the pride of nobility was outshone by the glare of ostentatious expense ; the simplicity of manners which had distinguished the citizen, fled ; and those hours which were formerly dedicated to some useful occupation, were now devoted to pleasure, or divided among the ceremonious duties of civilized society, and the indulgence of the passions. Thus their habits of life became gradually both more refined and more profligate ; what they gained in polish they lost in worth, and on the accession of the emperors, the extinction of liberty, by destroying that self respect which freedom inspires, insensibly sapped the

* The first law against extortion was passed in the third Punic war, about the year 604 of the city : it was called the *Calpurnian law*, from having been passed through the influence of L. Calpurnius Piso Frugi, tribune of the people ; and was followed by various others, severally known as the *Cæcilian*, *Servilian*, *Attilian*, *Cornelian*, and *Julian laws*. *Cic. de Offic. l. ii. c. 21, sub fin.*

foundation of moral principle and weakened those sterner qualities by which they had been formerly distinguished. This change in their manners may, therefore, be dated from about the 723d year of Rome, at which period—according to the generally received chronology—we date the usurpation of Augustus. But we must not incautiously adopt the popular opinion that the whole fabric of social order was thus destroyed; for however revolting the despotism recorded of some of the emperors, it was rarely carried so far as to break down the fences of society: justice continued to be administered between man and man, and the perfection to which the laws were brought, during the monarchy, affords unequivocal proof, that the reciprocal duties of life were both understood and practised, and that, notwithstanding the profligacy of which the inhabitants of Rome have been justly accused, the substance of the domestic virtues, and consequently of human happiness, must have still existed among the mass of the people.

The various trades necessary to the supply of a large metropolis were exercised in all their branches, but the mechanical arts were probably but ill understood, and even some of the more learned professions were exercised by persons of low condition. The practice of physic seems to have

been nearly confined to the administration of simples; and so late as the sixth century, the compounders of medicine were designated, in the Theodosian code, as common poisoners. The medical profession was, notwithstanding, in high repute; in families of distinction it was not unusual to have a slave instructed in medicine, several of whom obtained their freedom and rose to eminence; and it appears that many of them derived as large an income from their practice as the most celebrated physicians of the present day. But the chief practitioners in that, and other professions, were Greeks, who are described by Juvenal as—

“ A flattering, cringing, treacherous, artful race,
Of torrent tongue, and never blushing face ;
A Protean tribe, one knows not what to call,
Which shifts to every form, and shines in ail :
Grammarian, painter, augur, rhetorician,
Rope-dancer, conjuror, fidler, and physician,
All trades his own, your hungry Greekling counts ;
And bid him mount the sky—the sky he mounts !”

GIFFORD, *sat.* iii.

The sources of wealth that were opened to men of rank, through the channels of commands in the distant provinces, and the various other lucrative employments in the service of a government which is believed to have extended over one hun-

dred and twenty millions of subjects,* will sufficiently account for the riches possessed by many of the Romans, and for the prodigal expense in which the higher orders were enabled to indulge. The fortune of Crassus, one of the wealthiest of the patricians, has been estimated at a sum equivalent, at that period, to three millions of our money; and there were many other individuals the value of whose possessions approached that amount. Professors of the higher branches of the arts were liberally remunerated, and the wants of a great population must also have afforded employment and subsistence to numbers of traders and artisans; but still there is reason to suppose that affluence was not so universally diffused, among the middle classes, as in the present age; many of the lower orders were reduced, as we have already seen, to the extreme of indigence; and the vague idea we are apt to form to ourselves of the vast opulence of Rome, seems rather to arise from dazzling recitals of the splendor of the executive government and the magnificence of the public buildings, with some striking, and perhaps exaggerated examples of lavish expenditure among the great, than from any solid proofs of general prosperity.

* Gibbon, *Decline and Fall of the Rom. Emp.* vol. i. c. 1, 2, & 6.

CHAP. XII.

ON THE CITY OF ROME.

State of Rome until the Time of Nero—Subsequent Improvements—Nero's Palace—Town Houses—Household Gods—The Capitol—The Forum—Temples—Halls of Justice—Pillars of Trajan and Antoninus—Police and Population—Hospitals.

THE information which can be collected from ancient authors respecting the general appearance and interior arrangement of the houses in Rome, is extremely scanty and unsatisfactory; and even the recent excavations at Herculaneum and Pompeii have added but little to what was previously known on the subject.* The city is supposed to

* Herculaneum and Pompeii are both in the vicinity of Naples. They were destroyed by an eruption of Mount Vesuvius, A. D. 79; and their ruins have since been accidentally discovered—those of Herculaneum in 1689, and still more recently those of Pompeii.

In consequence of the great expense attending the removal of the vast superincumbent mass that covers the former, but little of the town has been discovered, and the researches have been, for some time past, discontinued. But Pompeii having been found at a few feet distance from the surface, the consequent facility of exploring its remains has enabled the workmen to lay open several of the streets.

have been little else than a confused assemblage of thatched cottages previous to its destruction by the Gauls in the 364th year after its foundation, yet some of the public buildings are said to have displayed much simple grandeur even at that early period, and one of the greatest works of antiquity, its sewers, still attests the solidity at least of their construction. After that event, it was rebuilt in a more substantial manner, yet still with no great attention to regularity in the distribution, or symmetry in the structure of the houses, which were chiefly of wood, inconveniently lofty, and crowded together in narrow streets; and although the Grecian style of architecture, upon which that of the Romans was afterwards modelled, had been introduced about two centuries previous to the dissolution of the republic, it was not until the reign of Augustus that it was embellished with any very splendid edifices.

The memorable conflagration in the time of Nero, reduced two thirds of the city to ashes. The catastrophe has been attributed, with much appearance of probability, to that odious tyrant himself; and though nothing can be said to palliate an act of such wanton atrocity, it must yet be admitted, that he did all in his power to repair the mischief he had created, and that Rome owed her sub-

sequent splendor to that calamity. The town was afterwards erected on a more extended and regular plan; the streets were widened; the height of the houses was limited to seventy feet; regulations were made which ensured a certain degree of elegance in their construction; and from this period may be dated that taste for decoration, and vastness of design, in both private and public buildings, which has continued to excite the wonder and admiration of succeeding ages.

Nero himself led the way to these improvements by rebuilding a great portion of what had been destroyed; and by the erection of a palace of such extraordinary extent and magnificence, that were not the descriptions of it which have been transmitted to us too well authenticated to admit of doubt, they would be received rather as the fictions of an eastern tale than as the records of a fact. The enclosure extended from the Palatine to the Esquilline Mount, which was more than a mile in breadth, and it was entirely surrounded with a spacious portico, embellished with a profusion of sculpture and statuary, among which stood a colossal statue of Nero himself, one hundred and twenty feet in height. The gardens contained every variety of hill and dale, wood and water, interspersed with temples and pleasure-houses, and

the baths were supplied from a great distance with sea and mineral waters. The apartments were lined with marble, enriched with jasper, topaz, and other precious gems; the timber-works and ceilings were inlaid with gold, ivory, and mother-of-pearl; and the resplendent elegance of its furniture and decorations, procured it the appellation of the *Golden-House*. But it was not destined to remain a monument of either the grandeur or the folly of its founder: it was destroyed by Vespasian, as being too gorgeous for the residence even of a Roman emperor.

After this epoch, the Town-Houses of persons of moderate fortune appear to have been enclosed within a court, called the vestibule, which was ornamented towards the street with a portico extending along the entire front. The entrance was by a flight of steps, through a folding gate of carved wood, or not unfrequently of brass, which led to the *Atrium*, or hall, which was in the form of an oblong square, surrounded by galleries supported on pillars, and seems to have been the common sitting-room of the family. In ancient times, it was, indeed, the only public apartment for all domestic purposes; and it was there that the occupations of spinning and weaving, which formed so material a part of the accomplishments of a Roman

matron, were carried on by the female slaves under her inspection. But, at a later period, it was solely appropriated, by families of the middle order, to the more refined uses of society, and was divided into different apartments by means of ample curtains; while in those of higher rank, it served merely as an anti-chamber to suites of spacious reception rooms. It opened, on the farther side, upon an inner court, beyond which was the *Peristyle*, leading into an eating-room called the *Triclinium*, the windows of which looked into the garden. On either side were the kitchens, servants' offices, and sleeping rooms, the latter of which appear to have been inconveniently small.

The atrium contained a hearth, on which a fire was kept constantly burning, and around which were ranged the *Lares*, or images of the ancestors of the family. These were usually nothing more than waxen busts, and, though held in great respect, were not treated with the same veneration as the *Penates*, or household gods, which were considered of divine origin, and were never exposed to the view of strangers, but were kept in an inner apartment, called the *Penetralia*, where they were worshipped according to the peculiar rites of the family of whose adoration they were the objects. The *Lares*, however, participated in the homage

paid to the Penates, and the ceremonies appropriated to both constituted what was termed the domestic worship.

The houses were built with high sloping roofs, covered with broad tiles, and there was usually an open space in the centre to afford light to the inner apartments, as well as for other purposes of domestic convenience. This area—termed the *Cavædium*—when sufficiently large, was encircled by a colonnade, contained a reservoir of water, or frequently a fountain, and was in other respects arranged with a view to ornament as well as utility. The walls of the apartments were usually painted in light colours, and decorated with basso relievos in stucco; the floors were commonly mosaic, and marble was profusely used in the more ordinary embellishments.

The outer door was furnished with a bell, and sometimes, as a mark of peculiar distinction, and by particular privilege, opened against the street. The entrance was guarded by a slave, who,—but for what reason does not appear,—was kept in chains; he was armed with a staff, and attended by a dog; precautions that would seem to argue considerable dread of depredation and violence, were we not also informed, that this apparently important trust was not unfrequently delegated to old women.

The Romans appear to have been unacquainted with the use of chimneys,* and were, consequently, not a little annoyed by smoke, in those houses in which the atrium was occupied by the family. Various expedients were resorted to in order to diminish the nuisance; one of which was, to anoint the wood, of which their fuel was composed, with the lees of oil. The mildness of the climate precluded the general use of fires in the private apartments, and when artificial warmth was required, it was afforded by means of a portable furnace, which, probably, was merely a deep brass pan, containing live embers—a custom which prevails at the present day in many parts of the southern continent of Europe—but, in great houses, a mode was afterwards introduced of heating the rooms by flues from a stove placed below them.

The windows were closed with blinds of linen, or plates of horn, but more generally merely with shutters of wood. During the time of the emperors, a species of transparent stone, or talc, cut into plates, was used for that purpose, but this was an elegance appropriated exclusively to the mansions of the most distinguished citizens. Glass, though manufactured in Egypt from a period of the most remote antiquity, and not unknown to the

* See Beckmann's History of Inventions, *Art. Chimneys*.

Romans, was not generally employed to admit light to their apartments until towards the fifth century of the Christian æra. Whether it was occasionally used for that purpose at a much earlier period is a point still in dispute among the learned: some obscure passages in the classic authors have been construed to that effect, and an entire casement glazed with panes of thick green glass, set in lead, was discovered in the ruins of an ancient villa in the neighbourhood of Pompeii; but Pliny, who minutely describes the transparent stone employed in windows, and also details the supposed particulars of the discovery of glass, does not allude to the latter as being used for that purpose; and St. Jerome, who lived in the fourth century, is the first writer who distinctly mentions glass windows.* Indeed, to this day, many of the inferior houses throughout Italy and the Peninsula are only furnished with lattices or slender shutters of wood.

* Seneca *ep.* xc. has been quoted as authority for the use of glass in the windows of houses in Rome early in the first century. But the passage to which he alludes has generally been considered as referring to the *Lapis Specularis*, or transparent stone; an opinion which seems to be strengthened by the words "*perlucidos lapides*" in a subsequent part of the same letter.

Extensive gardens were attached to some palaces of the nobility; and many houses, though not possessed of that advantage, were surrounded with trees interspersed with statues, of which latter it has been said there were as many in Rome as there were inhabitants. The Romans were, indeed, passionately fond of gardens; and as that taste could not be indulged to much extent in the city, it was displayed with great magnificence at their country-seats, or villas. The apparently spacious arrangement of the houses would lead us to conclude that the apartments must have been of corresponding dimensions; but, judging from the size of those which have been discovered in Pompeii,—which, though a provincial town, must have borne a near proportion in the form of its private dwellings to those of the common order in the metropolis—there is reason to suppose that they were generally constructed on a very diminutive scale, and that the floors were not unfrequently occupied by different families. The mansions of the great were commonly insulated from other houses, with narrow, and not very cleanly passages on the sides, and attached to them there were often rows of small shops.

It does not fall within the scope of these sketches to present a general view of the city of Rome,

much less a delineation of the countless public buildings by which it was adorned;* but the *Capitol* and the *Forum* would together constitute so prominent a feature in the picture of which they are intended to convey an idea, and are so frequently mentioned in history, that a brief outline of those edifices can scarcely be dispensed with.

The Capitol was originally a strong fortification, and is supposed to have been first founded by the second Tarquin, but it was subsequently destroyed, and restored, at three different periods. The structure, of which there are still some vestiges, was completed in the reign of the emperor Domitian. Tradition ascribes its name to the circumstance of a human head having been found on digging for the foundation, *with the face entire*; but it seems unnecessary to seek in fable for the origin of an appellation which is in itself sufficiently expressive of dominion. It was erected on the

* Ancient Rome is said to have contained 420 temples,—5 regular theatres,—2 amphitheatres,—7 circuses,—16 public baths,—11 aqueducts, supplying a prodigious number of fountains,—and innumerable public halls, porticos, palaces, columns, and obelisks.

Modern Rome contains 346 churches,—150 palaces,—3 aqueducts,—13 fountains,—10 obelisks,—and the two celebrated columns of Trajan and Antoninus.

Eustace's Class. Tour, and Campbell's Italy, passim.

Tarpeian rock, one of the highest of the seven hills of the city, from every part of which it was conspicuous. The approach to it was through the Forum, whence the ascent was by a double flight of wide stairs leading to a triumphal arch, under which was the principal entrance. It contained temples dedicated to Jupiter Feretrius, to Juno, to Minerva, and various inferior deities, from the centre of which rose the lofty fane of Jupiter Capitolinus, elevated above the rest upon a towering eminence of one hundred steps. The portal was of bronze; the spacious dome was doubly gilt; and the whole fabric was refulgent with the splendor of golden ornament.* The exterior was adorned on all sides, from the base to the summit, with a multitude of statues surmounted by the figure of victory bearing the Roman eagle. The interior

* The gilding alone is said to have cost two millions sterling, and some authors have estimated it still higher. It has been generally supposed that the dome of the temple was *plated with gold*, from an idea that the Romans were not acquainted with the modern art of *gilding*; but that is a mistake. They had not, indeed, attained the same perfection in the art of making gold-leaf; but it appears they had so far succeeded, that, in the time of Pliny, an ounce of gold was beaten into 507 leaves, each four inches square. At present the same quantity is made to cover a surface of 140 square feet. See *Beckmann's Hist. of Inventions*, art. *Gilding*.

was crowded with trophies, the spoils of conquered nations, the image of the god was seated on a throne of gold, and every other decoration was of corresponding magnificence.

The Forum was the most ancient public building in Rome : it was composed of a vast assemblage of sumptuous, but irregular edifices, forming a spacious oblong square, extending from the Capitoline to the Palatine hills—this crowned with the palace of the emperor, that with the temple of the tutelary deity—and was entirely surrounded by a piazza, terminated at each end by a triumphal arch. It was here that the assemblies of the people were held ; and from the rostra were delivered those celebrated harangues by which the tribunes stimulated the plebeians to resist the oppression of the patrician order. Here also justice was administered in vast halls appropriated to the different tribunals ; it was besides the residence of the chief bankers ; it contained a variety of shops stored with a profusion of the most costly merchandize ; and it was the mart for all important commercial transactions. Thus, being the emporium of law, politics, and trade, it became equally the resort of the man of business and the lounge ; was the scene of the chief bustle of the city ; and was styled the *Forum Romanum* for distinctive

pre-eminence above similar edifices of a later date, which were usually designated by the name of the founder or the particular purpose to which they were destined. Of its present state, a late traveller tells us, that "its temples are fallen; its sanctuaries have crumbled into dust; its colonnades encumber its pavements now buried under their remains. The walls of the rostra stripped of their ornaments, and doomed to eternal silence; a few shattered porticos, and here and there an insulated column standing in the midst of broken shafts, vast fragments of marble capitals and cornices heaped together in masses, remind the traveller that the field which he now traverses was once the Roman Forum. So far have the modern Romans forgotten the theatre of the glory, and of the imperial power of their ancestors, as to degrade it into a common market for cattle, and sink its name, illustrated by every page of Roman history, into the contemptible appellation of *Campo Vaccino*.*"

Until the time of Julius Cæsar there was but this one forum; but he added another upon a more regular and costly, though not so extensive a plan; and succeeding emperors followed his example, and even rivalled him in expense. Trajan, in particular, erected one in a most sumptuous style, in the

* Eustace's Class. Tour, vol. i.

centre of which was placed the celebrated pillar known by his name, which still remains, together with the almost equally admired column of Antoninus; both splendid monuments of the perfection to which the arts had then attained, and of the munificence with which they were encouraged. These pillars—which nearly resemble each other—are about one hundred and twenty feet in height, and are elaborately sculptured with a series of groupes, winding spirally round the shafts, each descriptive of some military exploit in the annals of the respective emperors. The figures embrace every variety of dress and weapon, standard and hostile engine, employed in the armies of those days, and form a minute and most interesting representation of all the “pomp and circumstance” of Roman warfare. They were surmounted with the colossal statues of the monarchs in whose honor they were erected; but these the piety of modern times has long since replaced with those of St. Peter and St. Paul!

It is singular that the Romans, who paid such extraordinary attention to the construction of roads, that they were carried in various directions throughout the whole extent of their vast empire, and were formed with such solidity as still to remain, in many parts, in perfect repair, should yet

have neglected to pave the streets of the capital. What renders this the more to be wondered at, Herculaneum and Pompeii are found, wherever they have been explored, to have been not only paved, but provided with raised foot-ways; yet certain it is, the streets of Rome were, for a long period, only partially provided with pavement, and were entirely destitute of any separate path for the convenience of pedestrians, unless where that deficiency was supplied by the porticos in front of the houses.

Neither was the city lighted, nor watched. There was a patrol indeed, but the police regulations were so defective, that the streets were the constant scene of midnight brawls, and foot passengers incurred no small danger of being either insulted by some drunken rioter, or knocked down by a robber. So far was the government from applying a remedy to the evil, which at length grew to an alarming height, that many of the dissolute emperors were themselves foremost in those frays, of which, and some other of the inconveniences of Rome, a humorous description has been given by Juvenal:—

“ There are who murder as an opiate take,
And only, when no brawls await them, wake:

Yet e'en these heroes, flush'd with youth and wine,
 All contest with the purple robe decline;
 Securely give the lengthen'd train to pass,
 The sun-bright flambeaux, and the lamps of brass.—
 Me, whom the moon, or candle's paler gleam,
 Whose wick I husband to the last extreme,
 Guides through the gloom, he braves, devoid of fear:
 The prelude to our doughty quarrel hear,
 If that be deem'd a quarrel, where, heaven knows,
 He only gives, and I receive, the blows!
 Across my path he strides, and bids me STAND!
 I bow, obsequious to the dread command;
 What else remains, where madness, rage, combine
 With youth, and strength superior far to mine?

“Whence come you, rogue?” he cries; “whose beans
 to-night,

Have stuff'd you thus? what cobbler clubb'd his mite,
 For leeks, and sheep's-head porridge? dumb! quite
 dumb!

Speak, or be kick'd—Yet once again! your home?
 Where shall I find you? At what beggar's stand,
 (Temple or bridge) whim'ring with outstretch'd hand?”
 Whether I strive some humble plea to frame,
 Or steal in silence by, 'tis just the same;
 I'm beaten first, then dragg'd in rage away;
 Bound to the peace, or punish'd for the fray!

GIFFORD, sat. iii.

The poet complains also of the frequency of
 midnight alarms of fire; and gives an appalling
 picture of the danger to be apprehended from bur-
 glary and assassination.

The city was cleansed by means of sewers of stupendous magnitude, and of such solid workmanship that, after a lapse of more than two thousand years, the principal drain, anciently the *Cloaca maxima*, is still entire. Openings were made into them at stated distances to receive the filth of the streets, and they were emptied by means of rapid streams which swept through them into the Tiber; but it does not appear that the houses had any private communication with them. Their construction has been ascribed, by the united testimony of the Roman historians, to the elder Tarquin; but as the records of that period are founded on mere tradition, there is no positive evidence of the fact, and their vast extent, so far surpassing that of the town for the accommodation of which they are supposed to have been built, has given rise to a conjecture that those monuments of antiquity belong to a more remote æra, and were the remains of a still more ancient city.

The principal thoroughfares seem to have had their full share of the various annoyances incident to the throng of a great metropolis; and the town was not altogether exempt from the nuisance of impurities being thrown from the windows:—

“ While by the throng
Elbow'd and jostled, scarce we creep along,

Sharp strokes from poles, tubs, rafters, doom'd to feel;
And plaister'd o'er with mud, from head to heel:
While the rude soldier gores us as he goes,
Or marks, in blood, his progress on our toes! *

" 'Tis madness, dire improvidence of ill,
To sup abroad, before you sign your will;
Since fate in ambush lies, and marks his prey,
From every wakeful window in the way.

Gifford's Juvenal, sat. iii.

The population of Rome has been variously estimated, but not accurately ascertained. The census, which was taken every fifth year, included all those who were entitled to the privileges of Roman citizens; the greater portion of whom, it has been already observed, were not resident in the city. Towards the close of the republic their numbers did not exceed four hundred thousand; but, from a census in the reign of the emperor Claudius, it appears that the number of men then capable of bearing arms amounted to 6,945,000, and that of the inhabitants, of all classes, in Rome, and the suburbs, to 3,968,000. But the suburbs are not defined, and they are supposed to have extended to the distance of several miles. The

* "Or marks, in blood, his progress on our toes." This alludes to the shoes worn by the soldiery, which were either shod with iron, or set with nails.

actual population does not exceed 180,000 souls ; and they occupy a space equal to about one third of the area within the supposed walls of the former city, which comprises a space of about fourteen miles in circumference. But the houses in ancient Rome were more lofty than those of modern construction, and could therefore accommodate a greater number of persons ; particularly as the different floors appear to have been very generally occupied by separate tenants. The number of domestic slaves also far exceeded the present proportion of servants, and they were, no doubt, crowded into a much narrower compass. From these data we may infer, that if the city itself contained a million of inhabitants, that was, probably, their utmost limit. But if this conjecture, and the census of Claudius, be both correct, the suburban population must either have been spread over a much wider extent than it seems reasonable to include within the precincts of a town ; or, it must have been much more dense than we should be led to conclude, either from an examination of the existing vestiges of former buildings, or a consideration of the space which must have been occupied by the numerous villas with which Rome was surrounded. It was approached, indeed, by twenty-nine, or according to one account, by thirty-one

public roads, which were lined to the extent of several miles with houses; and the banks of the Tiber were covered with villas from Otriculo to the port of Ostia—a distance of thirty miles. This would sufficiently account for the generally presumed population, if we could consider this immense space as forming part of the suburbs; but the supposition is contradicted by the known existence of several small *fora*, or market towns, within these limits; and it must also be observed, that it was encircled by an open space of consecrated ground, called the *Pomærium*, which extended beyond the walls, and which was considered as the bounds of the city. The subject is, however, only important in an historical and political view; and it is sufficient for our present enquiry to know, that, whatever may have been the real amount of the population, it probably exceeded that of any modern capital in Europe.

To those who reflect on the high degree of opulence and civilization to which the Romans had attained towards the close of the republic, it must afford matter of surprise to learn, that the city contained no public hospitals for the reception of the indigent. The temple of *Æsculapius* was, indeed, open to the infirm, and many, of every rank, who laboured under disease, were carried

thither, to invoke the god of health; but no human aid was afforded them; and it was not until the beginning of the fifth century that the first infirmary was erected by a Christian lady, named Fabiola. Her benevolent example was soon followed by others of her sect; and not only in Rome, but throughout Europe, the first establishment of those humane institutions was due to the introduction of Christianity.

CHAP. XIII.

ON VILLAS.

Country Houses—Description of Pliny's Tuscan Villa—Gardens—Roman Villa—Parks—Estates.

THE Roman villa was originally nothing more than a farm-house of a very humble description, solely occupied by the industrious cultivator of the soil ; the very name was, indeed, unknown to the ancient inhabitants, whose country possessions scarcely ranked beyond the size of gardens, by which title they were designated in the laws of the twelve tables.* But when increasing riches had inspired the citizen with a taste for new pleasures, and he had extended his enjoyments to the country, the term lost its former signification, and was used to denote the abode of opulence and luxury. However, except in the immediate neighbourhood of the city, where the houses were necessarily confined within narrow limits, they still retained a portion of their ancient character, and were united with the farm-buildings in a manner that combined elegance with utility.

* Plin. *Hist. Nat. lib.* xix.

It is fortunate for our researches into antiquity that an elaborate description of two of those villas has been recorded in the Letters of Pliny the younger; and, though not intended for publication, it is singular, that it should be the most satisfactory account that has reached us. We shall select that of his summer residence in Tuscany, at about one hundred and fifty miles distance from Rome, and, however well known it may already be to the classical reader, its introduction here will not, it is presumed, require apology; nor would it be just to clothe it in any other language than his own, as rendered to us by his elegant translator Mr. Melmoth. It was Pliny's principal seat, and it has been imagined that some traces of it might yet be discovered near a town called *Stintignano*, about ten miles north of the Episcopal city of *Borgo di San Sepulchro*; but it would appear, from the enquiries made by the late Rev. Mr. Eustace, while on his "Classical Tour" through Italy, that there is but little foundation for that hope.

"My villa"—says he—"is so advantageously situated, that it commands a full view of all the country around; yet you approach it by so insensible a rise, that you find yourself upon an eminence without perceiving you ascended. Be-

hind, but at a great distance, stand the Appennine Mountains. In the calmest days we are refreshed by the winds that blow from thence, but so spent, as it were, by the long tract of land they travel over, that they are entirely divested of all their strength and violence before they reach us. The exposition of the principal front of the house is full south, and seems to invite the afternoon sun in summer (but somewhat earlier in winter) into a spacious and well-proportioned portico, consisting of several members, particularly a porch built in the ancient manner. In the front of the portico is a sort of terrace, embellished with various figures, and bounded with a box hedge, from whence you descend by an easy slope, adorned with the representation of divers animals, in box, answering alternately to each other, into a lawn overspread with the soft, I had almost said the liquid *Acanthus*:* this is surrounded by a walk enclosed with tonsile evergreens, shaped into a variety of forms. Beyond it is the *Gestatio*,† laid out in the form of a circus, ornamented in the

* Modern botanists term this plant *garden-bear's-foot*; but commentators are not agreed whether *moss* is not here meant; and it has been supposed that the *Acanthus* alluded to in a subsequent part of Pliny's description is *Brankursine*.

† The "*Gestatio*" was a place appropriated for taking exercise.

middle with box cut in numberless different figures, together with a plantation of shrubs, prevented by the shears from shooting up too high : the whole is fenced in with a wall covered by box, rising by different ranges to the top. On the outside of the wall lies a meadow, that owes as many beauties to nature, as all I have been describing within does to art ; at the end of which are several other meadows and fields interspersed with thickets. At the extremity of this portico stands a grand dining-room, which opens upon one end of the terrace ; as from the windows there is a very extensive prospect over the meadows up into the country, from whence you also have a view of the terrace, and such parts of the house which project forward, together with the woods enclosing the adjacent *Hippodrome*.* Opposite almost to the centre of the portico, stands a square edifice, which encompasses a small area, shaded by four plane-trees, in the midst of which a fountain rises, from whence the water, running over the edges of a marble

* The Hippodrome was, in its proper signification, a place among the Grecians set apart for chariot-racing, and similar exercises, in the same manner as the Roman circus ; and it probably was imitated, on a small scale, in pleasure-grounds, or some particular walk obtained that name from its resemblance.

bason, gently refreshes the surrounding plane-trees, and the verdure underneath them. This apartment consists of a bed-chamber, secured from every kind of noise, and which the light itself cannot penetrate; together with a common dining-room, which I use when I have none but intimate friends with me. A second portico looks upon this little area, and has the same prospect with the former I just now described. There is, besides, another room, which, being situated close to the nearest plane-tree, enjoys a constant shade and verdure; its sides are incrustcd half way with carved marble; and from thence to the ceiling a foliage is painted with birds intermixed among the branches, which has an effect altogether as agreeable as that of the carving: at the basis of which, a little fountain, playing through several pipes into a vase, produces a most pleasing murmur. From a corner of this portico you enter into a very spacious chamber, opposite to the grand dining-room, which, from some of its windows, has a view of the terrace, and from others, of the meadow; as those in the front look upon a cascade, which entertains at once both the eye and the ear; for the water, dashing from a great height, foams over the marble bason that receives it below. This room is extremely warm in winter, being much exposed

to the sun; and in a cloudy day, the heat of an adjoining stove very well supplies his absence. From hence you pass through a specious and pleasant undressing-room into the cold-bathroom, in which is a large gloomy bath: but if you are disposed to swim more at large, or in warmer water, in the middle of the area is a wide bason for that purpose, and near it a reservoir from whence you may be supplied with cold water to brace yourself again if you should perceive you are too much relaxed by the warm. Contiguous to the cold-bath is another of a moderate degree of heat, which enjoys the kindly warmth of the sun, but not so intensely as that of the hot-bath, which projects farther. This last consists of three divisions, each of different degrees of heat; the two former lie entirely open to the sun; the latter, though not so much exposed to its rays, receives an equal share of its light. Over the undressing-room is built the *Tennis-Court*, and which, by means of particular circles, admits of different kinds of games.* Not

* “The circles were probably nothing more than particular marks on the floor, the success of their play depending on the ball’s alighting in such a circle after it had been struck; which it was the adversary’s business to prevent; and the “different kinds of games” this room was made for, might be diversified by lines, or circles, on the walls or floor; like

far from the baths, is the stair-case leading to the inclosed portico, after you have first passed through three apartments: one of these looks upon the little area with the four plane-trees round it; the other has a sight of the meadows; and from the third you have a view of several vineyards; so that, they have as many different prospects as expositions. At one end of the inclosed portico, and, indeed, taken off from it, is a chamber that looks upon the hippodrome, the vineyards, and the mountains; adjoining is a room which has a full exposure to the sun, especially in the winter; and from whence runs an apartment that connects the hippodrome with the house: such is the form and aspect of the front. On the side rises an inclosed summer-portico, which has not only a prospect of the vineyards, but seems almost contiguous to them. From the middle of this portico, you enter a dining-room, cooled by the salutary breezes from the Appennine valleys; from the windows in the back-front, which are extremely large, there is a prospect of the vineyards; as you have also another view of them from the folding-doors through the summer portico. Along that side of this

the game of tennis, which though it takes one entire room, may serve for several games of the like nature."

Castel's Remarks on Tusculum.

dining-room, where there are no windows, runs a private stair-case, for the greater conveniency of serving at entertainments : at the farther end is a chamber, from whence the eye is pleased with a view of the vineyards, and (what is not less agreeable) of the portico. Underneath the room is an enclosed portico, somewhat resembling a grotto, which, enjoying in the midst of summer heats its ever natural coolness, neither admits nor wants the refreshment of external breezes. After you have passed both these porticos, at the end of the dining-room stands a third, which, as the day is more or less advanced, serves either for winter or summer use. It leads to two different apartments, one containing four chambers, the other three ; each enjoying by turns, both sun and shade. In the front of these agreeable buildings, lies a very spacious hippodrome entirely open in the middle, by which means the eye, upon your first entrance, takes in its whole extent at one glance. It is encompassed on every side with plane-trees, covered with ivy ; so that while their heads flourish with their own foliage, their bodies enjoy a borrowed verdure ; and thus, the ivy twining round the trunk and branches, spreads from tree to tree, and connects them together. Between each plane-tree are planted box-trees, and between these bay-trees,

which blend their shade with that of the planes. This plantation, forming a straight boundary on both sides of the hippodrome, bends at the farther end into a semicircle, which, being set round and sheltered with cypress-trees, varies the prospect, and casts a deeper gloom; while the inward circular walks (for there are several) enjoying an open exposure, are perfumed with roses, and correct, by a very pleasing contrast, the coolness of the shade with the warmth of the sun. Having passed through these several winding alleys, you enter a straight walk, which breaks out into a variety of others, divided by box-hedges. In one place, you have a little meadow; in another, the box is cut into a thousand different forms; sometimes into letters, expressing the name of the master; sometimes that of the artificer: whilst here and there little obelisks rise intermixed alternately with fruit-trees: when, on a sudden, in the midst of this elegant regularity, you are surprised with an imitation of the negligent beauties of rural nature: in the centre of which lies a spot surrounded with a knot of dwarf-plane-trees. Beyond these is a walk planted with the smooth and twining acanthus, where the trees are also cut into a variety of names and shapes. At the upper end is an alcove of white marble, shaded with vines, supported by

four small Carystian pillars.* From this bench the water gushing through several little pipes, as if it were pressed out by the weight of the persons who repose themselves upon it, falls into a stone cistern underneath, from whence it is received into a fine polished marble bason, so artfully contrived, that it is always full without ever overflowing. When I sup here, this bason serves for a table, the largest sort of dishes being placed round the margin, while the smaller ones swim about in the form of little vessels and water-fowl. Corresponding to this, is a fountain which is incessantly emptying and filling; for the water, which it throws up a great height, falling back into it, is, by means of two openings, returned as fast as it is received. Fronting the alcove (and which reflects as great an ornament to it as it borrows from it,) stands a summer-house of exquisite marble, the doors whereof project, and open into a green inclosure; as from its upper and lower windows, the eye is presented with a variety of different verdures. Next to this is a little private recess, (which, though it seems distinct, may be laid into the same room,) furnished with a couch; and, notwithstanding it

* This marble was obtained from an island in the Grecian Archipelago, now called *Negroponte*. It is supposed to have been of that kind which we call verd-antique.

has windows on every side, yet it enjoys a very agreeable gloominess, by means of a spreading vine which climbs to the top, and entirely overshades it. Here you may recline and fancy yourself in a wood ; with this difference only, that you are not exposed to the weather. In this place a fountain also rises and instantly disappears : in different quarters are disposed several marble seats, which serve, no less than the summer-house, as so many reliefs after one is wearied with walking. Near each seat is a little fountain ; and, throughout the whole hippodrome, several small rills run murmuring along, wheresoever the hand of art thought proper to conduct them, watering here and there different spots of verdure, and in their progress, refreshing the whole.”*

Spacious as this villa appears to have been, it was only one, of four, which belonged to the same person ; each of which, if we may judge from a description which he has left of another of them, was of nearly equal extent ; and if we reflect, that Pliny, although a nobleman of high rank, was not looked upon as a man of large fortune, and was, besides, remarkable for his prudence and moderation, we may form some idea of the magnificence displayed in the houses of those whose taste for

* Melmoth's *Plin. b. v. ep. 6.*

luxury and expense was uncontrolled by similar considerations. Our surprise at the number of villas that were maintained by some individuals, will, however, in a great measure cease, if we reflect that the landed property of the Romans was in general cultivated on their own account by their slaves, and therefore required their frequent personal attendance; and that the chief estates of the nobility were acquired by grants in the conquered provinces, and must consequently have been, in many instances, situated in widely distant parts of the empire.

Notwithstanding the minuteness with which Pliny has described his villas, it is extraordinary that his description conveys no connected idea of their internal arrangement. An ingenious antiquary has, indeed, attempted to supply the deficiency, and has furnished us with plans, and even elevations of the buildings, but it is evident that he has been at least as much indebted to his fancy as to the information derived from Pliny.* We have, however, the less to regret the want of more accurate details, as we must presume that the usual country residences of the middle orders of society, with which the vicinity of Rome abounded, bore

* See Castel's *Villas of the Ancients*.

but little comparison with the extent and magnificence of those mansions of the great.

Some villas were surrounded with large parks, in which deer, and various foreign wild animals were kept; and through a refinement of false taste, we are told, that in order to render the sheep that pastured on the lawns ornamental, as well as useful, it was not unusual to dye their fleeces of various colours. Spacious fish-ponds were also a common appendage to the villas of persons of fortune, and vast expence was often incurred in stocking them. In general, however, country houses were merely surrounded by gardens, and there is much reason to suppose that both in size and general appearance they bore a strong resemblance to those of modern Italy.

CHAP. XIV.

ON BATHS.

Aqueducts—Baths—Gymnasia—Public Thermæ—Baths of Nero, of Dioclesian, and of Caracalla—Attendants—Mode of Bathing—Private Baths.

THE custom of daily bathing has been abandoned in Italy for many ages past, the use of linen having rendered it in a great measure unnecessary. But as the Romans were long unacquainted with that luxury, and the covering for their feet was very imperfect, frequent ablution was necessary both for health and cleanliness; and, from constant habit, it became requisite to their personal comfort, and one of their chief sources of enjoyment. A citizen, of whatever class, therefore, seldom failed in his attendance on the bath, unless public or private mourning obliged him to abstain from it.

In the rude ages of the republic, when the mass of the people were chiefly engaged in agriculture, and the toils of the field were only interrupted by an occasional festival, it was merely customary to wash the limbs in the evening, on the cessation

of labour, and every ninth day, when the assemblies held for the affairs of government, or the usual attendance on the markets, called them to the city, they bathed the whole body; but they consulted no other rules than those which mere cleanliness dictated, and the nearest stream was usually considered the most convenient bath.

It was not until about the year 441 from its foundation that Rome was supplied with water by means of aqueducts; but, at a later period, they became so numerous, that they are supposed to have furnished the city with a quantity equal to 500,000 hogsheads every twenty-four hours. They were constructed of brick, and conveyed the water, from distances of thirty, forty, and even of sixty miles, to reservoirs, whence it was distributed over the town through metal pipes, in such a quantity that whole rivers seemed to flow through the streets and sewers; so that every house had its pipes and cisterns sufficient to furnish a copious and perpetual supply. Of these, a late traveller informs us, that three only, out of nine, remain to supply modern Rome; and yet, such is the quantity they convey, and so pure the sources whence they derive it, that no city can boast of such a profuse supply of clear and salubrious water.*

* Eustace's Class. Tour, vol. ii.

That attention to ornament, as well as use, by which the public buildings of the Romans were distinguished, was displayed in their erection: the Julian aqueduct, built by Agrippa, when *Ædile* under Augustus, contained one hundred and thirty reservoirs, and five hundred fountains, all embellished with columns and statuary, and the vestiges of others, remaining at this day, attest their former beauty and convenience. Works of such magnitude and utility merited, and received, the especial care of government: accordingly, Augustus established a commission for their superintendence, of which the celebrated orator Messala was president, and from that time the situation was always held by men of the first rank.

The establishment of baths followed soon after that of aqueducts; but they were for a long time of extremely simple construction, and merely supplied with cold water. At first they were only erected contiguous to the *Gymnasia* and *Palestræ*—places appropriated to athletic sports—where the nature of the exercises rendered their use indispensable; this led to their general adoption, and they were finally carried to a degree of perfection which converted an act of mere cleanliness into a refinement of luxury.

It has been supposed, that the various warm

springs which abound in the neighbourhood of Rome, first inspired its inhabitants with the idea of hot-baths, for which purpose a variety of vessels were in use in private houses. But public establishments of that kind were derived from the nations of the east; were first adopted in Greece; and thence passed into Italy, where they are said to have been introduced by Mæcenas, a short time previous to the commencement of the Christian Æra. Being then joined to the cold-baths, they obtained the denomination of *Thermæ*, and began to assume that splendor which has since excited the astonishment of the world, and the accounts of which would have exceeded our belief, were they not both too well authenticated to be doubted, and confirmed by existing remains. Roman magnificence seems, indeed, to have particularly displayed itself in the baths: they contained within their enclosure, not alone the usual conveniences for bathing, but also, spacious galleries, and porticos of vast extent, for recreation and exercise, with a prodigious number of apartments for dressing and repose; and some had extensive gardens attached, embracing all the variety of running water, lawns, terraces, groves, and even woods. The most considerable were, those of Agrippa; of Nero, to which the waters of the sea, and of the sulphurous

fountain of Albula, now *Tivoli*, were conducted; of Caracalla—in which was a room ornamented with two hundred pillars, and furnished with sixteen hundred seats of marble; and of Dioclesian, which surpassed all others in size and sumptuousness of decoration, and was, besides, enriched with the precious collection of the Ulpian library. The remains of the latter, which, after a lapse of fifteen centuries, are still in great preservation, have been converted into a monastery, and still retain much of their original grandeur: the principal hall now forms the church, and although the pavement has been raised to remove dampness, and its proportions have been thus altered, yet its cross-ribbed vault, supported by massive pillars, and its vast dimensions, afford ample evidence of the ancient magnificence of the entire edifice.

The public *Thermæ* generally consisted of a long uniform range of buildings exposed to a southern aspect. The north front contained a reservoir of cold water, sufficiently large to admit of swimming in it; the centre was occupied by a spacious vestibule; and on each side was a suite of warm, cold, and vapour baths, with their appendant apartments for cooling, dressing, and refreshment. The original intention in thus constructing them was, that each wing should be appropriated to the

different sexes. It was, then, not even thought decorous for a father to bathe with his son, after the latter had attained the age of puberty; but this reserve soon wore off, and, notwithstanding various prohibitory decrees of succeeding emperors, the baths were indiscriminately used by both males and females, with this only distinction, that the latter were attended by women; though it must be admitted that some authors deprive the ladies of even this claim to delicacy. These baths were so many spacious and magnificent rooms; but that containing the warm-bath was double the size of the others, both because of the greater concourse of persons by whom it was frequented, and the additional time which they remained. The roofs were vaulted, and supported by pillars; the pavement was either tessellated or mosaic; the walls were encrusted with marble, and embellished with master-pieces of painting and sculpture; and the galleries, the porticos, and the various private apartments, were all ornamented with equal profusion. The vases and utensils were in unison with this magnificence: the warm-baths, for separate use, were either of marble, of oriental granite, or of porphyry; and some were occasionally suspended, in order that their undulatory motion should at once procure a refreshing change of air, and invite

repose. The *thermes* of Caracalla was one thousand eight hundred and forty feet in length, and upwards of one thousand four hundred in breadth, and contained within its walls the temples of Apollo, of *Æsculapius*, of Bacchus, and of Hercules. Besides the usual apartments, and the vast hall, already mentioned, it contained two extensive libraries, and a saloon for music; along the entire front there was a gymnasium for exercise; and the whole extent of the spacious gardens was encircled by a lofty portico opening into halls for the recitation of poetry, and the delivery of philosophical lectures.

Numerous slaves were employed in these public *thermæ*, in the various departments of heating and cleansing the baths, and attendance on the bathers. Each bore the distinctive appellation of his particular employment, and all were under the superintendence of certain officers of the police, whose duty it also was, to take care that order and decorum were preserved, and to regulate the time and price of bathing according to the directions of the magistrates. The hours at which they were open were, at first, between two and three in the afternoon; afterwards, between sun-rise and sun-set; and finally, in the reign of Alexander Severus, the people were allowed access to them in the night, during the violent summer heats; but at all

other times, the sick and infirm alone were indulged with that permission. The price of admission amounted to no more than about a farthing of our money, for there were in general large funds appropriated to them, and some were wholly supported at the expence of the state. The public were admitted to them all, without distinction of rank, and even the emperors themselves not unfrequently condescended to join the throng, and bathed indiscriminately with their subjects.

The bathing commenced with warm, and ended with cold water; the vapour-bath being only occasionally used. The operation lasted a considerable time; for, not content with merely cleansing and drying the skin, the Romans were accustomed to have their bodies scraped with a small instrument of ivory or metal, of a semicircular form, rounded at the extreme edge, with a groove through which the impurities of the skin might run off, and on leaving the bath, those who could afford the expence were anointed with scented oils.

The private houses of persons of rank, and more especially their villas, usually had baths attached to them, many of which vied in splendor, though not in extent, with the public thermæ. We are indebted to Seneca for a description of one of these, from which we may picture to ourselves the

general grandeur of their construction. According to his account, the walls were of Alexandrian marble, the veins of which were so disposed as to wear the semblance of a regular picture; the basins were set round with a most valuable kind of stone imported from the Grecian Islands; the water was conveyed through silver pipes, and fell, by several descents, in beautiful cascades; the floors were inlaid with precious gems; and an intermixture of statues and colonnades contributed to throw an air of elegance and grandeur over the whole.*

* Senec. Ep. 86.

CHAP. XV.

ON THE FINE ARTS AND LITERATURE.

Introduction of the fine Arts into Rome—Sculpture—Painting—Galleries—Porticos—Newspapers—Chess—Private and Public Libraries—Books—Epistolary Correspondence—Mode of Writing.

DURING nearly the first six centuries of its history, Rome, filled with the spoils of barbarous nations, presented only the martial spectacle of a warlike and conquering people; the fine arts were unknown there until some of their successful commanders brought from Syracuse, from Asia, Macedonia, and Corinth, the various specimens which those places afforded, and inspired their countrymen with a taste which they afterwards gratified at the expense of every liberal feeling of public justice and private right. The statues and pictures which Marcellus took from Syracuse were, no doubt, says Livy, “the spoils of the enemy, and belonged, by the laws of war, to the conqueror; but it is from that period that we may date the birth of that licentious cupidity which has led the Romans to pillage without scruple or distinction,

both the temples of the gods, and the houses of individuals, in order to appropriate to themselves the chef d'œuvres of the Greeks, which, until then, they neither understood nor valued."* So ignorant, indeed, were they of their real worth, or so little did they appreciate it, that when the victories of Mummius had given him possession of some of the finest productions of Grecian art, he threatened the persons to whom he entrusted the carriage of some antique statues and rare pictures — "that if they lost those, *they should give him new ones!*"

The least criminal of the means employed in the gratification of this new passion was, to compel the sale, for a trifling consideration, of works in themselves beyond all price; for which species of spoliation, the commands to which men of rank were appointed in foreign countries afforded frequent opportunities. The purity of the ancient laws did not allow the governors of provinces to make purchases from the people over whom they ruled: a wise and salutary regulation of the senate to prevent a very odious kind of peculation, which afterwards dishonored the Roman name, and tarnished the lustre of their conquests. But when

* Tit. Liv. l. xxv. c. 40.

their morals became relaxed, neither laws nor principle were longer regarded, and some openly took whatever pleased them, whether public or private property, without pretext or excuse, and without an idea of remuneration; while others, more cautious, or more open to a sense of shame, made plausible excuses for borrowing rare works of art, without any intention of returning them. It is difficult to credit what Cicero relates of the excesses of Verres in this particular, during his prætorship in Sicily: he charges him with having plundered the temples and palaces of all they contained that was most precious in bronzes, marbles, pictures, and statues; nor were the generality of governors far behind him in this disgusting extortion, and their galleries were filled with the inestimable spoils of their rapacity.

Of those treasures of antiquity many interesting remains of statuary have been discovered in the ruins of ancient buildings, and still adorn the palaces of modern Rome.—precious relics of the art, as well as splendid testimonials of the perfection to which it had then attained. Among these, the celebrated Venus de Medicis, the Belvidere Apollo, and the Laocoon of the Vatican are unrivalled; but they were the production of Grecian artists, and there is reason to suppose that Rome

was indebted to the natives of that country for the chief monuments of sculpture which, at a later period, enriched the collections of the nobility and adorned the public edifices; and that, long after painting, sculpture, and all the acquirements of polished life had attained a high state of excellence in Asia and in Greece, the Romans remained far behind their instructors in those ornaments of society. The arts, it is true, were encouraged by Augustus and several of the succeeding emperors, and flourished at Rome until the removal of the seat of empire to Constantinople; but, although we may presume that many of the professors were Roman, it is yet certain that the names which have been transmitted as most worthy of record are chiefly Greek.

With the exception of some groups of figures still remaining on the walls of the baths of Titus, and the celebrated picture known to amateurs as the *Nozze Aldobrandini*, the reliques of painting which have been discovered, are chiefly confined to Arabesque ornaments, in fresco, on the apartments of private dwellings at Herculaneum and Pompeii, and on the halls of some public buildings. These are executed with all the spirit, grace, and imagery which characterise the masters of the art; and, as it is not probable that the most eminent of

the Roman painters were employed in the decoration of houses, we may conclude that the finest specimens of their works have been destroyed by the ravages of time. It must however, be acknowledged, that those which have been preserved, however elegantly designed, are deficient in perspective, and being also defective in light and shadow, they are destitute of that charm of modern painting which consists in the proper management of Chiaroscúro. The art preceded that of sculpture in Rome; and, so early as the year 450 from the foundation of the city, one of the most distinguished citizens, of the illustrious family of the Fabii, obtained the appellation of *Pictor* from the talent he displayed in the embellishment of the Temple of Health. That it continued for a long period in high estimation, we have not only the evidence of cotemporary authors in the eulogiums which they have applied to it, but in the more positive testimony afforded by the elder Pliny in the record which he has left of the vast prices at which some pictures were sold.* It was, however, confined to distemper, or water-

* We are told by Pliny that M. Agrippa purchased an Ajax and a Venus for the sum of 300,000 denarii, and that 600,000 were refused for a Bacchus of Aristides, which was placed in the temple of Ceres; while some pictures of Apelles, and

colours, with some occasional admixture of wax, or coating of varnish, to guard the pieces from the injuries of time; for there is the strongest reason to presume that it never arrived at the dignity of oil painting, and it was, eventually, in a great measure superseded by statuary. Independently of the greater durability of the materials employed in sculpture, its more exact representations of animated nature, and the higher value usually attached to the art, there were strong reasons which conduced to the preference accorded to it by the ancients. The images of their ancestors, which it was a sacred duty among all persons of distinguished family to preserve, and which were originally formed only of wax, were afterwards moulded in marble or in bronze, and not unfrequently in silver, and the highest public honor that could be conferred on merit was a statue: not only, therefore, must the demand for the efforts of the sculptors have been great, but their reward must have been proportionably large, and their consequent emulation must have exalted the art in real value, if the circumstances already mentioned had not contributed to raise it in the public estimation.

other artists of superior merit were considered as beyond all price. *Hist. Nat. lib.* xxxv.

After a taste for the fine arts had been thus acquired, large enclosed galleries were constructed around the mansions of the opulent, and were ornamented with the finest statues and paintings of Greece. These were not uncommonly erected over the open piazza or portico by which such houses were commonly encircled—in contradistinction to which they were termed *chrypto-porticus*—and were devoted both to the purposes of exercise and to the sedentary amusements of cultivated society. Among the latter may be enumerated a daily newspaper, which recorded the chief occurrences of public note and general interest, together with the more private intelligence of births, deaths, marriages, and fashionable arrivals, in much the same manner as those of a modern date; it was not, indeed, issued for circulation, being merely hung up in some place of usual resort, and published under the sanction of government, for general information, but we may presume that it was copied for the private accommodation of the wealthy. We may also conclude, from the following description in an ancient author, that they were not without the resource of the game of chess—

“ To mimic war the radiant troops are led,
And martial ranks the varied table spread ;

There sable bands, and here a snow-white train,
With doubtful fate of war the fight maintain.
But, who with thee shall dare dispute the field?
Led by thy hand, what warrior knows to yield?
Or if he fall, he falls with glorious pride,
His vanquished foe extended by his side.
Unnumber'd stratagems thy forces try;
Now artful feign, and only feign to fly:
Now boldly rushes through the ranks of war
The chief who viewed the slaughtering scene from far.
This bravely daring in the arduous toil,
Repels the host advancing to the spoil;
While cautious, that moves dreadful on, and slow,
And fraudulent, meditates the certain blow."

LUCAN, Poem addressed to Piso.

The porticos annexed to the temples, and other public edifices, seem to have formed spacious squares, either in front of or enclosing them; and in many instances they were entirely detached, and of such extent that they were used not only for exercise on foot, but also in carriages. These were made use of by dealers in pictures, statues, and other precious commodities, for the exposition of their wares, and, occasionally, even the senate and the tribunals assembled in them, to ratify their acts and to administer justice, or to give audience to ambassadors.

The galleries of some affluent patricians, who patronised literature, contained splendid libraries,

which were open to the inspection of the learned and the curious. Among these that of Cicero, at his Tusculan villa, and that of Lucullus, were remarkable for the number and variety of the specimens of art by which they were enriched, and the liberality with which they were devoted to the pursuits of literature. Poets not unfrequently took advantage of the indolent leisure that reigned in those places to recite the efforts of their muse, and sometimes, it would appear, to tire the patience of their auditors:—

“ While sweetly floats the voice in echoes round,
The coxcombs never think at whose expence
They thus indulge the dear impertinence.”

Francis's Hor. b.i. sat. 4.

Literary men, indeed, read aloud for exercise: the younger Pliny gravely tells us that it assists digestion; and the celebrated physician, Celsus, recommends it for the same purpose.

These collections were the more precious in consequence of the difficulty in procuring books at a period when, the art of printing being unknown, each copy was, necessarily, transcribed. They were sometimes written on parchment, but more generally on a paper made from the leaves of a plant called *Papyrus*, which grew, and was prepared in Egypt. The leaves were pasted together

at the ends, and then made up into a roll, which was enclosed in a covering of skin, or silk, fastened with strings, or clasps, closed with an ornament in the form of a ball, and inscribed with the title. From this manner of rolling, they acquired the name of *Volumen*, which has descended to our books of the present day, although their form no longer justifies its application. Both the papyrus and parchment were as often used of various colours, as white; mention is indeed made of purple vellum, and gilt letters, and such was the elegance usually displayed in the ornaments, that the clasps and rollers were frequently of silver or gold.

The copyists were usually slaves who had received a liberal education; and their great number gives room to suppose that, however tedious the process of transcription, the expense was not considerable. The booksellers' shops were in consequence both numerous and well furnished with manuscripts; but inaccuracies must have been frequent, and thus, probably, have arisen those perplexing and irreconcilable passages which sometimes occur in the copies that have reached us.

The method of rolling the paper was adopted even in epistolary correspondence, until Cæsar introduced the custom of folding letters in a flat, square form; but they were then divided into small

pages in the manner of a modern book. When forwarded for delivery, they were usually perfumed, and were tied round with a silken thread, the ends of which were sealed with common wax; which mode of closing them was in use, even in this country, at no very remote period. They are supposed to have also sealed their letters with a cement partly composed of chalk, or fuller's-earth, but of the composition of which we are wholly ignorant; the sealing-wax used at present being a modern invention. The Romans did not use to subscribe their letters, but inserted their own name and that of the person to whom they were addressed, at the commencement, thus: *Julius Cæsar to his friend Mark Anthony, health!* And instead of the complimentary conclusion dictated by modern politeness, they ended them with a simple—*farewell!* They appear to have been adepts in the art of stenography, and were acquainted with the use of ciphers to secure the secrecy of confidential correspondence.

Writing was performed with a reed, split and pointed like our pens, and dipped in ink, which was sometimes composed of a black liquid emitted by the cuttle-fish. But memoranda, or other unimportant matter not intended to be preserved, were usually written on tablets spread with wax.

This was effected by means of a metal pencil, called *stylus*, pointed at one end, to scrape the letters, and flat at the other, to smooth the wax, when any correction was necessary. It appears to have admitted of considerable facility of execution; and the same method is still employed, though for a different purpose, by engravers in aqua-tinta.

Besides the private libraries that were open to general use, there were others that were entirely public property. The first so established, was founded by Asinius Pollio, in the temple of liberty. It was embellished with the statues of the most celebrated scientific personages of antiquity, and Varro was the only living author, among the great number who then flourished at Rome, to whom that distinction was assigned. Pollio lived in the Augustan age, and had gained the honor of a triumph; but the variety of talents by which he was distinguished gave him a juster title to be ranked among the illustrious men of that celebrated period, and the glory which he acquired by being the first to found a library for the use of the public, animated even the emperors to follow his example. They afterwards became numerous, and were generally attached to some temple; were surrounded by vast porticos; and constructed not only for the reception of large collections of books,

but also for the accommodation of the numerous assemblages of literati by whom they were frequented. Augustus erected one into an academy where new productions in poetry were submitted to censorship, and in which those deemed worthy of being transmitted to posterity were deposited, accompanied with the bust of the author; and, indeed, the protection which he extended to literature, generally, as well as the arts, with the consequent eminence to which it reached, has distinguished his reign as the standard epoch of taste. There were, at that time, three of those libraries at Rome, and their number was augmented by succeeding emperors to twenty-nine; of which the most considerable, as well as the most celebrated, were the *Palatine* and the *Ulpian*, the former so called from its situation, and the latter from its founder, the Emperor Ulpian Trajan.

From this slight description some idea may be formed of the extent and magnificence of the Roman galleries, and libraries; but an enumeration of the various details which have been transmitted in the classic authors would far exceed the limits to which these sketches are confined.

CHAP. XVI.

ON MUSIC, AND THE DRAMA.

Introduction of Musical Science—Melody—Musical Instruments—The Hydraulicon—Vocal Music—The Drama—Actors—Dancers—Theatric Factions—Theatres.

THE conquest of Greece opened a wide field to the Romans for the acquisition of the arts and sciences, and, if they derived most of their refined attainments from their victories in that country and in Asia, it reflects credit on their intellectual susceptibility that they yielded the dominion of their taste in the elegancies of social life to those whose power they had subdued. Not only were they indebted to the Greeks for the principles of music, but even for the terms of art : such of their writers who have touched on the subject, even at a late period of the empire, invariably recur to the Greek for technical explanation, and Vitruvius complains of the obscurity of the science of music to those who do not understand that language, in consequence of the deficiency of terms in the Latin ; which sufficiently proves how little musical knowledge the Romans possessed in the time

of Augustus, and from what source that little was obtained. It must not, however, be supposed that they were wholly without an original music of their own, however rude and unharmonious. Men, even in the savage state, are not insensible to the charms of melody, and the traditionary history of Rome represents her earliest heroes hymning their gods in songs of victory. It is also probable that they borrowed some of their martial and religious music from the neighbouring Etruscans, who preceded them in civilization, and from whom they are more than conjectured to have derived many of the arts of social life.

Rousseau has observed, when treating the subject of the Grecian songs, that the Romans, more military than sensual, for a long time made but a very coarse use of music and lyric poetry; and in these particulars, never approached the voluptuous grace and elegance of the Greeks; that their hymeneal odes were rather noise and clamor than airs; and it is hardly to be presumed that the satirical songs of the soldiers, in the triumphs of their generals, consisted of a very agreeable melody.

On the justice of this reflection we have not the means of deciding, as, unfortunately, no specimens of Roman melodies have been preserved. But it

is certain, that their instrumental music was extremely circumscribed, as the only stringed instrument they possessed was the *cithara*—a kind of lyre, or small harp—of which there were, indeed, several varieties of form, but all on the same principle, and probably requiring but little difference in the mode of execution.

Their wind-instruments were more numerous; but from the descriptions which have reached us of some of them, and from what may be collected respecting others from representations in ancient statuary, it is not to be presumed that they possessed the compass and modulation of those with which we are acquainted. They consisted chiefly, of the ancient shepherd's pipe, or *syrinx*:—of various kinds of flutes; which appear, however, to have been usually played with a mouth-piece, or reed, in the manner of our hautboy, and sometimes to have consisted of a double tube:—of horns; of which little more is known than what may be conjectured from the name:—of trumpets of various powers:—and the bag-pipes; with which (although the fact has been disputed) it appears certain that they were acquainted.

The only other instruments known to them were the cymbal, and various kinds of drums, one of which bore a close resemblance to the tambourine;

and they seem also to have made some approach towards the invention of the organ, in an instrument, of which the following description is extracted from a recent History of Music, from the pen of Dr. Busby.

“ The most extraordinary of the wind instruments, or, indeed, of any other kind, is the *hydraulicon*, or water-organ: an instrument so denominated, because it was performed upon, or at least blown, by water. From a description given by Vitruvius, it would seem, that the water, by which the air was impelled into the pipes, was put in motion by pumps. The question whether it was played with the fingers, or its tones modulated by some mechanical means, has excited considerable dispute. Claudian speaks of it in terms which, if we overlook what alludes to its being filled by water instead of wind, would describe a modern organ:—

“ *Vel qui magna levi detrudens murmura tactu
Innumeras voces segetis moderator ænæ
Intonet erranti digito, penitusque trabali
Vecte laborantes in carmina concitet undas.*”

“ With flying fingers, as they lightsome bound,
From brazen tubes he draws the pealing sound.
Unnumber'd notes the captive ear surprise,
And swell and thunder as his art he plies :
The beamy bar he heaves ! the waters wake !
And liquid lapses liquid music make.”

BUSBY.

“Athenæus, who gives a description of this instrument, says it was invented, in the time of the second Ptolemy Evergetes, by Ctesibius, a native of Alexandria. Ctesibius, however, cannot properly be called the inventor of the hydraulic organ, since it is but an improvement upon Plato’s *clepsydra*, or water-clock, that played upon flutes the hours of the night, at a time when they could not be seen on the index.

“The most satisfactory idea that can be formed of this instrument, is furnished by a large beautiful medallion of Valentinian, in the collection of antiquities bequeathed to the Vatican by Christina, queen of Sweden. On the reverse of this relic is represented an *hydraulic organ*, with two men, one on the right, and one on the left, who appeared to pump the water which plays, and to be listening to the sound. It has only eight pipes, placed on a round pedestal; and has neither keys nor performers.”

Of the vocal music of the ancients we possess but little knowledge, only incidentally learning from the casual remarks of some of their writers, that the art itself was in high estimation, and that the merits of public singers were accurately distinguished and proportionally rewarded. The patronage bestowed upon it by Nero, and some of

his successors, must have been strong excitements to its study, and no doubt materially promoted its advance as a science; and, indeed, the personal importance enjoyed by the performers, and the praises lavished on them, are sufficient proofs of the successful cultivation of the harmonic art in Rome.

The dramatic entertainments of the Romans were always accompanied with music. They originally, indeed, consisted in little more than dances to the sound of the flute. Dialogue was only gradually introduced; at first, in coarse, and frequently obscene, couplets, which obtained the name of *fescennine verses*,* and afterwards, in satires, still accompanied with music and dancing; and it was not until about the year of Rome 512 that an attempt was made to represent a regular comedy. From this period the drama progressively improved, and the plays which still exist sufficiently attest the excellence to which this species of composition arrived; while the fortunes acquired by some of the actors afford abundant proof of the

* The generally received opinion is, that these verses took their name from *Fecennia*, a city of Etruria, now *Galesa*, in the ecclesiastical states. But, according to Macrobius, the term is derived from the word *Fascinum*, a charm, and the verses were originally used as a protection against witchcraft.

estimation in which the histrionic art was held, notwithstanding that, according to the Roman law, the profession of an actor was declared infamous, and those who practised it were deprived of the rights of citizens.

Æsop, the celebrated tragedian, is said to have left at his death a sum equivalent to 160,000*l.*, notwithstanding that he had led a life of profusion; and other performers were equally prosperous. But, although this must have been derived from the public bounty, it yet does not appear in what manner that was bestowed. They probably profited largely by exhibiting their talents at private entertainments; for their remuneration, on extraordinary occasions, was limited, by an edict of the emperor M. Antoninus, to ten aureii, or about eight guineas.

Of the rewards bestowed on authors, we only learn from a note annexed to the original title of one of Terence's most esteemed comedies, that he received eight thousand sesterces for it from the city Ædiles, who presided over the public entertainments; and that this was the largest amount that had then been paid for any dramatic work.* This sum—not exceeding 50*l.* of our currency—appears a very moderate recompence for so splendid

* Suetonius, in *Vit. Terent.*

an effort of genius ; but Terence wrote in the latter end of the sixth century of Rome, when the comparative value of money so far exceeded its worth at a later period, that it was then considered large.

The Roman comedy was, at first, wholly borrowed from the Greeks, and it was long before the Latin stage could boast of an original composition. When delivered from the trammels of imitation, their plays became more descriptive of Roman character and manners; but it may be doubted whether they did not lose more in purity of taste than they gained in originality, for we find, that the stage degenerated soon after the fall of the republic, and was at length abandoned to dancers and buffoons. The change has, indeed, been ascribed to the policy of the emperors, who are said to have encouraged the representation of low comedy and pantomime, in order to divert the attention of the lower classes from the measures of government, or, more probably, to a want of taste in the people for the more intellectual gratification of the pure drama; but we may reasonably presume, that it could not have been so easily effected, had not the decline of dramatic genius itself led the way. Tragedy was not introduced until long after comedy was known, and the pieces still extant are

so few, as to afford but little means of judging of the general merit of their tragic muse.

The play was usually succeeded by a farce, which was performed by amateurs. These were styled *Atellane comedies*, in which the actors, not speaking from any written dialogue, trusted to the spontaneous effusion of their own fancy; a licence which they frequently abused by the introduction of much gross ribaldry. The performers in the *Atellana* could not be compelled by the audience to unmask; nor were they, like common actors, deprived of their civil rights.

Interludes, of dancing and processions, and of exhibitions of animals, were generally introduced between the acts; and these, together with pantomimical representations, tumbling, and rope-dancing, constituted so great a portion of the entertainment, that they at length superseded the regular drama. Whether the animals exhibited on the stage were usually trained to perform tricks, does not distinctly appear; but we are told that the emperor Galba possessed an elephant which walked upon a rope stretched across the theatre, and there is reason to suppose that such exhibitions occasionally formed a part of the amusements.

The actors wore masks descriptive of the cha-

racters they represented. The origin of the custom has been attributed to a celebrated tragedian, who is said to have adopted it to conceal the defect of squinting; but it was, more probably, derived from the Greeks. The interior of the mask was lined with metal, or with horn, in such manner as materially to assist the power of the voice, and it appears from an ancient illuminated manuscript of the comedies of Terence, preserved in the royal library at Paris, that it covered the entire head.* Its use was rendered in some measure necessary by the vast size of the roofless theatres, in which, without some such assistance, the actors must have been inaudible to the greater part of the audience; and yet, as it must have been destructive of that great charm of superior acting—the expression of the countenance—it is difficult to imagine how eminent performers could, while so disguised, have acquired the reputation they enjoyed. We may therefore be allowed to suppose, that the idea of its having been employed on all occasions, is erroneous; and partly to be attributed to a custom which prevailed, of prefixing to the title of the pieces the figure of the mask, together with the *dramatis personæ*; which was, perhaps, intended more as an in-

* See the Preface to Mad. Dacier's Translation of Terence.

dication of the character, to the reader, than as a representation of what was actually exhibited on the stage. However this may be, it is certain that they were generally used, at least by inferior actors; and, as the female characters were performed by men, they then contributed to heighten the illusion. In such pieces, too, as the *Menæchmi* of Plautus—from which Shakespeare's Comedy of Errors is taken—in which the intricacy of the plot turns on the mistake of one person for another, the use of masks would contribute to give an air of greater probability to the incidents.

Another singular custom prevailed on the Roman stage—the occasional division of the same part between two actors, the one reciting, while the other accompanied him with the appropriate gesture. But it was probably confined to the recitation of verse, or single speeches; for we do not find that it was applied to dialogue, and it was originally introduced for the convenience of a favorite performer who was rendered hoarse by his obedience to reiterated calls of “*encore*.”

Comedians wore a low-heeled shoe, called a *sock*, that merely covered the foot; Tragedians, a high *buskin* that reached to the mid-leg: whence these words are used to denote the different styles of comedy and tragedy. Pantomimic actors usually

performed barefooted; but on some occasions they wore wooden sandals. The professed dancers used castanets, which they played in unison with the music, in the manner still practised in the Peninsula, and some parts of Italy; and it appears, both, that the chief female dancers were Spaniards, of the province of Andalusia, and that the style of their dancing was then as remarkable as now for its voluptuousness.

It is generally imagined, that the national dances of Spain were introduced into that country by the Moors; and the certainty, that dances equally licentious have been known time immemorial in the east, has been adduced as proof corroborative of the supposition. But that fact will not apply to Barbary, whence the Moors invaded Spain; nor do the dances of the East bear any resemblance to those of the Peninsula, except in their lasciviousness; while a striking similarity prevails between the latter and the *Salterello*, as danced at this day by the lower classes of people in the Ecclesiastical states. We, therefore, shall not commit any great outrage on probability if we hazard the conjecture, that the same *Fandango* and *Bolero* which charm the present audiences of Madrid, once contributed to the amusement of the inhabitants of ancient Rome.

The audience testified their applause, or censure, in the modern manner, and espoused the pretensions of different actors with so much heat, that the representation was often interrupted by their disputes, and quarrels ensued which not unfrequently terminated in bloodshed. Such, indeed, was the partiality of the people to theatrical amusements, that every eminent player had his party, and their absurd factions rendered the theatre a constant scene of riot and disorder. Persons of the highest rank took part in these brawls, which were at length carried so far as to attract the attention of the senate; and, in the reign of Tiberius, the players were, in consequence, banished from Italy. The drama never recovered this blow; but dancers and buffoons gradually found means to return to the stage, of which they afterwards kept entire, and undisputed possession.

The extraordinary, and somewhat ridiculous influence acquired by the actors, excites the more surprise, as we are told that, although courted by the great, and liberally rewarded by the public, they never were freed from the restraints of the law; which, as has been already observed, held their profession to be infamous; and, indeed, the majority of those who embraced it were slaves. Even Augustus, who was their greatest protector,

ordered one celebrated comedian to be publicly whipped through the theatre for having presumed to intrigue with a Roman matron ; and banished another from Italy for affronting one of the audience who hissed him.

During nearly the whole period of the republic, scenic exhibitions were held to be subversive of the morals of the people. Although they had ever been fond of such rude exhibitions as the low state of dramatic talent produced, yet they were for ages without any other theatres than temporary booths, or seats of turf arranged under the shade of trees in the neighbouring villages, and, so late as the year of Rome 599, a decree passed the senate prohibiting the erection of theatres within a mile of the city. But this prejudice gave way in process of time, and it is well known upon what a colossal scale of magnificence those edifices were afterwards constructed. The first permanent building for this purpose, within the city, was erected by Pompey, who, in order to obtain permission from the Censor, affected to dedicate it to the worship of Venus Victrix : it was calculated to contain 40,000 spectators, and others were afterwards raised of still more stupendous dimensions, and were decorated with all the profusion of the most lavish expense. They were, at first, open at the top, and awnings were used to guard against the sun and rain ; nor

were the audience accommodated with seats; but, at a later period, they were covered, and built with regular rows of stone benches, rising above each other in the manner of our pit, intersected by narrow staircases, and divided according to the rank of those who were to occupy them. The lowest rows were appropriated to the senators and foreign ambassadors, the next fourteen to the knights, and the remainder to the public; and it appears, that the foremost seats were covered with cushions, while those assigned to the lower classes were left bare, and the topmost benches—the most inconvenient in the theatre—were appropriated to the women. As all were equally admitted gratuitously, these distinctions gave great offence to the people, but they were, notwithstanding, rigidly enforced, and inspectors were appointed at the theatres, who regulated the distribution of places according to the rank of the parties.* The stage was constructed in much the same manner as at present, except that the orchestra was equally appropriated to dancing and music; and it appears to have been provided with even more than the modern quantity of thunder, trap-doors, and machinery. The Proscenium was decorated with columns terminating on the sides in two semicircular re-

* See Juvenal, *sat.* iii.

cesses, and the scenery and decorations were generally of the most splendid description, and were screened, during the intervals of the performance, by a silken curtain.

In the ruins of a theatre discovered at Herculaneum there was a balustrade, which separated the orchestra from the stage, on which was a row of statues, and on each side an equestrian figure : the Proscenium was narrow ; and, instead of a drop-scene, there was a kind of bow window front, divided into two stories, with a door on each side ; but no general conclusion can be drawn from this arrangement, which probably was only the decoration of some particular scene.

A custom, general at private entertainments, of sprinkling the apartments, and the guests, with perfume, is alluded to by Ovid as being also usual at the theatres ; the magnificence of which he thus contrasts with the rustic simplicity of those of older times :—

“ No veils were then o’er marble structures spread,
No liquid odours on the audience shed ;
The nearest grove supplied its choicest green,
And clustering branches form’d the artless scene ;
Rude seats of turf in order rose around,
Where sat the swains with oaken garlands crown’d.”

GIFFORD, *Art of Love*, b. i.

CHAP. XVII.

ON AMPHITHEATRICAL EXHIBITIONS.

Amphitheatres—The Colisæum—Combats of Wild-beasts
—Gladiators—Persecution of the Christians—Aquatic
Theatres.

THAT degeneracy of taste in the Roman people which admitted the introduction of buffoonery on the regular stage, added to the policy of government in consulting the inclination of the lower orders, led to the construction of amphitheatres, solely appropriated to shows of wild beasts and gladiators, and similar spectacles calculated to gratify the populace. The first was probably erected by Julius Cæsar,* but it was merely a temporary building of wood, as the shows were then only occasionally represented, and it was not until the reign of Titus that Rome became possessed of the Flavian Amphitheatre, the stupendous magnitude of which to this day excites the astonishment of the world.

This edifice, now better known by the name of

* Maffei on Amphitheatres.

the *Colisæum*,* was 550 feet in length, 470 in breadth, and in height 160; and was surrounded, to the top, by a portico resting on eighty arches, and divided into four stories, all open to the interior front, and the uppermost entirely exposed to the air. An arcade under each arch afforded a facility of ingress and egress which prevented those accidents that might otherwise have arisen from the pressure of the vast crowds by which it was frequented. The arrangement of the seats was similar to that in the theatres, but there was a large box projecting from one side, and covered with a canopy of state for the accommodation of the emperor and the magistrates, who were surrounded with all the insignia of office. As combats of wild-beasts formed a chief part of the amusements, they were secured in dens around the arena, or stage, which consisted of the entire area in the centre, and it was strongly fenced, and encircled by a canal, to guard the spectators against their attacks; these precautions, however, were not always sufficient,

* The Flavian Amphitheatre was so called originally from the family by which it was erected: it has acquired its present name of *Colisæum*, or *Colosseum*, as it is sometimes termed, either from its vast size, or from the colossal statue of Nero, which stood in front of it, the head having been removed and replaced by a bust of Apollo.

and instances occurred in which the animals sprang across the barrier. This huge pile was commenced by Vespasian, and was reared with a portion of the materials of Nero's golden palace: its form is oval, and it is supposed to have contained upwards of eighty thousand persons; a multitude that would stagger belief, did not the vast ruins of the antique fabric still sufficiently attest the accuracy of the calculation.

The amphitheatres were never roofed, but they were provided with awnings, and when these were insufficient, the people made use of umbrellas, and broad-brimmed hats, to protect them from the weather.

Of the combats of wild-beasts little more is known than, that vast numbers of different animals, both foreign and domestic, were thus destroyed: eleven thousand are said to have been killed during the celebration of Trajan's triumph over the Dacians, which lasted during four months without intermission, and five hundred lions were slaughtered in a few days on another similar occasion. We should feel disposed to doubt the possibility of collecting together such vast numbers of those animals, did we not recollect the wide extent of African territory that was tributary to the Romans after the subjugation of Carthage, the arid wastes

of which were only inhabited by wild beasts; and were we not acquainted with the fact that, during the reign of the emperor Commodus, lions were protected as royal game, and whoever killed one, although in self-defence, was subject to a heavy penalty. But Commodus was a sportsman of no common order; and, if we may credit the records of his feats in the arena, was, alone, equal to the destruction of the whole tenants of a forest.

The first public combats of gladiators took place at Rome in the close of the fifth century from the foundation of the city, when they were exhibited by two brothers—named Brutus—at the funeral of their father. From that period they became frequent, on such occasions, and in process of time they were introduced into the entertainments given to the people by the magistrates on public festivals, and even by individuals who were desirous of acquiring popularity. At length, they constituted so material a portion of those festivities, that ten thousand gladiators are said to have fought in Rome alone during the celebration of Trajan's triumph, to which allusion has been already made; the emperor Gordian, while yet only a private citizen, is said to have presented, on more than one occasion, five hundred pairs to the public games, and such was the waste of human life occasioned by

these barbarous shows throughout the provinces, that in Europe alone upwards of twenty thousand men have perished by them in one month. Some checks were occasionally imposed on them: first by a law, procured by Cicero, to prevent their being exhibited by any candidate for office, and secondly by an edict of Augustus to confine them to certain periods of the year; but these were afterwards rescinded, and only serve to place in a broader light the sanguinary disposition of the people for whom such restraints were necessary. They were prohibited during the reign of Constantine: but so strong was the predilection of the public in their favor, that neither the mandate of the emperor, nor the introduction of Christianity, could entirely suppress them, until the irruption of the Goths, under Alaric, put a stop to every species of diversion throughout Italy. Thus, during the space of nearly seven centuries, were these inhuman spectacles suffered to corrupt and brutalize the manners of the people; and, in the polished capital of the civilized world, multitudes of human beings were sacrificed to a depravity of taste which has no parallel in the annals of savage nations.

The gladiators were originally chosen from among the captives, or malefactors; then slaves were trained to the profession; and, when the en-

couragement which it afterwards received rendered it lucrative, it was adopted by many free persons. They were largely recompensed for any signal act of bravery, and, when they had particularly distinguished themselves, or had grown old in the service, they were permitted to retire on a pension; but the public favor with which their exertions was rewarded never prevented their employment from being looked upon with abhorrence, and stigmatized with infamy.

They fought with various weapons, and it was customary to oppose those to each other whose arms and manner of engaging were most dissimilar. Some appeared in complete armour, and others were only provided with a trident, and a net in which they endeavoured to entangle their adversary, whom they then instantly slew; if foiled in the attempt, their only resource was in flight, and if overtaken by their opponent before they had adjusted the net for a second cast, their own fate was promptly decided. But when a gladiator was only wounded, yet found himself incapable of farther effectual resistance, he lowered his sword in token of submission, and his doom then depended on the will of the spectators, who pressed down their thumbs if they chose to save him, but held them up if it was their pleasure that he should be slain.

Incredible as it may appear, this inhuman signal was very commonly given; always, indeed, if the unfortunate man betrayed either inexpertness or timidity; and it was only when his skill and courage seemed to promise future *sport* that his life was spared. The wretched victim seldom offered further resistance: he was even expected to receive the fatal stroke in a becoming posture; and when killed, or even mortally wounded, he was dragged, with a hook, from the arena, and thrown into a common receptacle for the carcasses of the miserable beings who were thus slaughtered. His opponent was crowned with palm, and cheered by the plaudits of the barbarians, who found diversion in this scene of murder; and who, not content with the sacrifice of one fellow creature, glutted their thirst of blood with repeated combats which lasted from the morning until night. Nor, let it be supposed that these brutal exhibitions were confined to the rabble of Rome: the most distinguished among the knights and patricians, the very magistrates and consuls, the emperors themselves, and even females of rank, sanctioned them by their presence, and joined in the cruel signal of destruction. Nay, so far was the ferocious mania carried, that some of the young nobility actually entered the lists on the arena themselves, and contended,

as amateurs, with the common herd of prize-fighters—

“ Where, influenced by the rabble’s bloody will,
With thumbs bent back they popularly kill.”

Dryden’s Juvenal, sat. iii.

Such was the spirit engendered by the scenes of blood with which the people were thus familiarized, that malefactors, and unfortunate Christians during the period of the persecution against them, were compelled to risk their lives in those unequal contests ; and in the time of Nero, Christians were dressed in skins, and thus disguised, were hunted by dogs, or forced to contend with ferocious animals, by which they were devoured. Without positive evidence, it would be unjust to rank among the amusements of the Roman people, an atrocity, from the very contemplation of which the mind recoils with horror ; but we have the undoubted authority of Tacitus for the fact, that these, and even greater cruelties, were committed ; and a passage in Juvenal—though variously interpreted—seems to warrant the conclusion that the *arenæ* of the amphitheatres were sometimes the polluted scenes of their consummation.*

* Tacitus, speaking of the cruelties inflicted on the Christians by Nero, says, that they were not only clothed in skins and then hunted by dogs, but smeared with some inflamma-

There were also aquatic theatres, termed *Naumachiæ*,—the centre of which presented, in lieu of an arena, a spacious pool, where naval engagements were exhibited. But the mimic representation of a battle, and the mere semblance of bloodshed, could not satisfy the prevailing passion for the horrible, and in these, also, the devoted actors were constrained to oppose each other in mortal strife.

ble substance and burned as torches during the night. His words are:—*et pereuntibus addita ludibria, ut ferarum tergis coniecti laniatu canum interirant, aut crucibus affixi, aut flammamandi, atque, ubi defecisset dies, in usum nocturni luminis urerentur.*" Ann. l. xv. c. 44.

The passage in Juvenal, to which allusion has been made, is as follows :

"Pone Tigellinum, tædâ lucebis in illâ,
Quâ stantes ardent, qui fixo gutture fumant,
Et latus mediam Sulcus diducet ARENAM."* Sat. i.

Although it does not expressly assign the amphitheatre as the scene, yet it is not easy to ascribe, with any degree of probability, another meaning to the word *arena*, which, it must be observed, was universally used synonymously with amphitheatre.

* Tigellinus was a favorite of Nero.

CHAP. XVIII.

ON MORNING AVOCATIONS.

Devotions—Visits—Levees—Remuneration to Attendants—
 General Business—Candidates for Office—Nomenclators
 —Mode of Salutation—Breakfast and Dinner—Siesta.

So various are the tastes and passions, and so much are the habits of life governed by them, that an attempt to depict the aberrations from the established usages of society would become an endless task, and is more properly the province of the drama, or of the satirist, than of a brief essay like the present. Neither can we undertake a description of the customs of every class in ancient Rome, but chiefly confining ourselves to that middle order between the great patrician and the plebeian, we shall endeavour to follow those men, who, without being devoted to ambition, were not without weight in the commonwealth; who, without abandoning themselves to dissipation, set a just value on the pleasures of society; and who, equally attentive to the interests of their families, and to those of the state, divided their time between the occupations of business, and the duties, or relaxation, of private life.

Persons of this rank employed the first part of the morning in the duties of religion. The temples were opened before the dawn, and were lighted up for the convenience of those whom either devotion or necessity induced to visit them at that early hour. It would have been considered profane to have commenced the common avocations of the day until this obligation had been fulfilled; and we may collect from a passage in the *Æneid*, that the first blush of morn was consecrated to the matins of the pious:—

“Wake, son of Venus, from thy pleasing dreams:
And, *when the setting stars are lost in day,*
To Juno’s power thy just devotion pay.”

DRYDEN, *b. viii.*

Their devotions lasted a considerable time; but we must be cautious how we thence infer that they were actuated by sincere piety. Had they been satisfied with praying, according to the well known adage of Juvenal, for “health of body, and of mind,” their orisons would probably have been shorter; but the number of real and imaginary wants which they hoped to supply, and the various gods whom they were obliged to propitiate, according to each separate necessity, occasioned a tedious series of ceremonies, from which

those who are satisfied with adoring the Creator in spirit, and in truth, are exempt. Seneca asserts, that the folly of some went so far as to supplicate the gods for success in pursuits which they would have blushed to acknowledge to their fellow-men; and Horace has left a lively description of this species of hypocrisy:—

Your honest man, on whom with awful praise,
The forum, and the courts of justice gaze,
If e'er he make a public sacrifice,
“Dread Janus! Phœbus!” clear and loud he cries—
But when his pray'r in earnest is preferr'd,
Scarce move his lips, afraid of being heard:
“Beauteous Laverna!* my petition hear!
“Let me with truth and sanctity appear.
“Oh! give me to deceive, and with a veil
“Of darkness, and of night, my crimes conceal.”

FRANCIS, *b. i. ep. 16.*

On leaving the temple, the business of the day began, and amongst its most important duties was that of paying visits.

The great have ever been courted by their inferiors; but in Rome, during the time of the emperors particularly, adulation became a system, and flattery a science. In the early period of their history, when equality reigned among the people,

* Laverna was the goddess of rogues and thieves.

their manners were frank, though coarse, partaking of their occupations as soldiers and husbandmen. But as wealth and population increased, and civilization advanced, new distinctions arose in society; luxury gave birth to wants which agriculture alone could not supply; and necessity rendered the inferior classes submissive and respectful, while the interests of ambition, which were dependent on popularity, made the patricians affable. Towards the close of the republic, literature, and an intercourse with the Greeks—then the most polished nation of the world—carried the urbanity of Roman manners to the highest point of perfection; but, influenced at length by the effeminacy of the Orientals, enervated by voluptuousness, and corrupted by a venal government, they insensibly declined, and degenerated, before the fall of the empire, into fawning servility on the one part, and overbearing arrogance on the other.

It then became an indispensable duty to attend the levee, every morning, of those to whom they were, or wished to appear attached. The citizen, —not unfrequently the magistrate—ran from door to door to pay court to some great man, who, in his turn, rendered the same homage to another, and all Rome was one common scene of the interchange of civility—and insincerity. Pliny the younger

calls these visits—"devoirs before the dawn";* and Juvenal describes them as made at so early an hour that the yawning visitants had not time to arrange their dress.† If they were inconvenient to those who paid, we may safely conclude that they were scarcely less so to those who received them, and Martial complains of a nobleman who evaded his.‡

The authors just cited lived under the emperors Domitian, Nerva, and Trajan; but similar visits were made in the time of the republic, with this difference, however, that their only object then

* "*Devoirs before the dawn:*"—"Officia antelucana."

Plin. *Epist.* l. iii. ep. 12.

† ————— "Go now, supremely blest,
Enjoy the meed for which you broke your rest,
And loose and slipshod, ran your vows to pay,
What time the fading stars announced the day;
Or at an earlier, when with slow roll,
Thy frozen wain Boötes, turn'd the pole;
Yet trembling, lest the levee should be o'er,
And the full court retiring from the door!"

Gifford's Juvenal, sat. v.

‡ "Since your return to Rome I five times went
To wish you well, and pay my compliment;
"Busy, not up," hath been my answer still:
Adieu! you will not let me wish you well."

Hay's Martial, b. ix. epig. 8.

was to show respect to rank and virtue. Cicero frequently mentions them; and his own apartments were filled, every morning, with a multitude of citizens, amongst whom were many of the most distinguished patricians.

The clients assembled in the atrium of their patron, where they amused themselves in conversation until he chose to make his appearance, or they were informed that he had eluded their attentions, or could not receive them; but if he went out in public, they accompanied him both going and returning. This retinue was at length considered by the great as a necessary appendage to their rank, and they seldom appeared abroad without a numerous train of slaves, freedmen, and clients: a costly species of vanity; for so much had the original connexion between patron and client then degenerated, that those who were not slaves were paid for their attendance. Indeed, if Juvenal does not belie them, even men of rank stooped to gratify their avarice by swelling the pomp of this pageant, for which they received a gratuity in money, contemptuously denominated *sportula*, a term applied to portions of victuals distributed at the houses of patricians to their needy retainers. This dole was given in lieu of a supper, to which the attendant clients were usually invited

in former times, ere solid hospitality had been superseded by ostentation and empty pomp: it was established by law, and could therefore be demanded as a right; and it appears, from some passages in the satirists of the day, that its distribution gave rise to frequent contention among the applicants, and to some whimsical artifice to secure a double portion:—

Now, at the gate, a paltry largess lies,
And eager hands and tongues dispute the prize.
But first (lest some false claimant should be found,)
The wary steward takes his anxious round,
And pries in every face; then calls aloud,
“Come forth, ye great Dardanians,* from the crowd!”
For, mix’d with us, e’en these besiege the door,
And scramble for—the pittance of the poor!
“Despatch the *Prætor* first,” the master cries,
“And next the *Tribune*.” ‘No, not so;’ replies
The freedman, bustling through, ‘first come is, still,
‘First serv’d; and I may claim my right, and will!’—
Wedge’d in thick ranks before the donor’s gates,
A phalanx firm, of chairs and litters, waits:
Thither one husband, at the risk of life,
Hurries his teeming, or his bedrid wife;
Another, practised in the gainful art,
With deeper cunning tops the beggar’s part;

* “*Ye great Dardanians.*” The old nobility of Rome affected to derive their origin from the great families of Troy.

Plants at his side a close and empty chair :

“ My galla-master ;—give me galla’s share.”

‘ Galla !’ the porter cries ; ‘ let her look out.’

“ Sir, she’s asleep. Nay, give me ;—can you doubt !”

Gifford’s Juvenal, sat. i.

The sum usually given did not exceed twenty pence of our money ; and when we consider that those who claimed it were far from belonging to the very lowest class of society, it serves to exhibit a large proportion of the citizens in a very degraded state, and affords a convincing proof, that Rome, in its greatest splendor and apparent prosperity, was the abode of much real want and misery. It would seem, however, that this gratuity was not always given alone to the necessitous, but was on some occasions presented out of compliment to guests ; for Pliny mentions, that, in the province of which he was governor, it was customary, on celebrating a family festivity, to invite *the whole senate*, (i. e. the provincial senate,) with a considerable part of the commonalty, to a feast, and to distribute to *each* of the company, a dole of about fifteen-pence ; and he adds, that so many as a thousand persons sometimes partook of this bounty.*

These visits occupied the early part of the morning, after the devotions in the temples ; but al-

* Plin. Epist. l. x. ep. 117.

though the custom was general with those who had an object to attain by it, there were others, who, more independent, or having more important avocations to attend, did not make such a sacrifice of their time. Many of the knights were bankers; others acted in the capacity of notaries, making and keeping a registry of contracts, deeds, and other legal instruments; and the common business of life—the maintenance and advancement of themselves and families—then, as now, occupied the attention of the mass of the population. There were occasions, however, on which the motive for this personal attendance was equally amiable and disinterested. When any distinguished magistrate, or officer, returned from the provinces, or the army, crowds went from the city to meet and welcome him; they then conducted him to his house, the avenues to which were previously ornamented with garlands of flowers; and on leaving the city for a foreign command, a similar escort always attended. The same custom was prevalent in private life: no person, however humble his station, commenced a journey without being accompanied on a part of it by some of his family and friends, putting up prayers for his safety and success; nor returned without being greeted with equal cordiality.

In consequence of the frequent changes in the magistracy, the canvassing for votes was reduced to a regular system, and some persons were almost constantly so employed during the forenoon. Candidates for office were accompanied by their clients, friends, and relations, who recommended them, even in the public streets, to those of their acquaintance by whom they were met; and, as it was a mark of politeness among the Romans, as well as the Greeks, to salute every one by their names and titles, yet quite impossible for candidates to recollect those of all the strangers to whom they might be introduced, they were usually attended by slaves, whose duty it was to refresh their memory. Those who aspired to offices of rank in the state kept such attendants constantly about them: they were called *Nomenclators*, and their sole occupation was to inform themselves of the names, fortune, rank, and connexions, of the citizens of any note; to be familiar with their persons; and, when they met them in public, to whisper their intelligence to their master, that he might be enabled to address them with the familiarity of an acquaintance; an extreme of affability, which, however it may appear to approach adulation, was the almost necessary consequence of a form of

government which vested the nomination to all public employments in the people.*

In saluting, the hand first touched the lips, and was then advanced towards the person saluted, in the same manner as to the gods; but, sometimes, as a mark of extraordinary respect, they kissed the hand of the person saluted. Men in the army merely lowered their arms. But none of these salutations were accompanied by any inclination of the body until long after the decline of the republic.

The *third hour*, corresponding with our nine in the morning, was dedicated to the business of the courts of law, except on those days which religion had consecrated to repose, or which were destined to the more important meeting of the general assembly. When the public attention was not occupied, either with affairs of state in the assembly, or great trials in the courts—which, however, rarely occurred after Rome became possessed of the provinces of which her vast empire was composed—the *third*, *fourth*, and *fifth hours*, were usually passed in conversation in the porticos and forum: the measures of government were freely discussed, and, as there were no laws to repress

* Vid. Horat. *lib. i, ep. 6.*

opinion, men in power were not spared when their conduct merited censure. Tiberius was the first who regarded animadversions on the government as criminal. Surrounded by spies, and informers, who nourished his suspicions, and inflamed his jealousy of the public opinion, nothing was indifferent to that tyrant: a word spoken in jest, or in the freedom and confidence of private conversation, was often construed as seditious; and no man, however guarded in his conduct, was secure against the misinterpretation of his actions, or the malevolence of false and secret information.

At length the *sixth hour*, or noon, arrived; when every one returned to his home, and partook of a slight and unceremonious dinner, to which guests were very rarely invited. They afterwards retired for a short time to sleep; a custom which prevails to this day in Italy and Spain, although the early rising, which rendered it in some measure necessary to the Romans, can no longer be pleaded in favor of the *Siesta* by the higher order of their descendants. Some trifling refreshment was also taken in the previous part of the morning; but breakfast was not, as with us, a social meal, and was eaten by each person separately, without regard to form.

CHAP. XIX.

ON THE AMUSEMENTS OF THE AFTERNOON.

Tennis—Dancing—Athletic Sports—Boxing—The Circus—
Chariot and Horse-races—Floral Games—Carriages.

THE morning having been thus passed in the different pursuits which engaged each person separately—in the temples, the palaces, the courts, and public places, or in the more laborious duties of life, the afternoon was generally devoted to amusement. Some there no doubt were who, more assiduous than others, continued their labors to a later hour; but they were few; and we may judge how little their example was followed, from the circumstance, that both Horace and Seneca mention the senator Asinius Pollio with particular respect, as one more than ordinarily diligent, because he attended to business until the tenth hour—*four o'clock*; but, that time once passed, he would not even open a letter, lest it should occasion him further occupation.

The space between noon and the usual hour for

supper was employed, first, as we have already seen, in taking refreshment and repose, and afterwards in various kinds of exercise—on foot, on horseback, and in carriages—in active sports, and at the bath.

Amongst the active amusements, tennis took the lead; not merely as a pastime for youth, but as the relaxation of the gravest, as well as the most distinguished men. Suetonius mentions it, in his life of Augustus, as one of the diversions of that prince; Valerius Maximus relates, that the celebrated jurist Scævola was in the habit of amusing himself with it after the fatigues of the forum; and Plutarch observes, that the very day on which Cato of Utica lost his election to the dignity of consul, he went as usual to the tennis-court, although such days were usually passed in mourning by the unsuccessful candidates and their friends. Mæcenat is also mentioned as attached to this diversion; Pliny the younger alludes to it with evident satisfaction; and, in short, it was so much in vogue, that few country houses were without a court attached to them for that purpose, and in the city, the public courts were numerous. But the game does not appear to have been played, like modern tennis, with a racquet, instead of

which the hand was furnished with a gauntlet; neither were its rules quite similar.*

There were several other games of ball, some of which were played in the manner of our English fives, and football; and one—*harpastum*—which seems to have resembled the common Irish game of hurling: the players were divided into two sets, equi-distant from a line drawn between them, and behind each there was another line, which formed the bounds; the ball was placed in the centre, and the contention consisted in forcing it over the boundary line of the opponent.

The great Scipio Africanus amused himself with dancing; not, as Seneca says, “those effeminate dances which announce voluptuousness and corruption of manners; but those manly and animated dances in use among their ancestors, *which even their enemies might witness without abating their respect!*”† It is to be regretted that Seneca was not more precise in his description, as they probably differed materially from the waltz and the quadrille of the present day.

* “*Tennis.*” Sueton. *in vit. August.*—Valer. Max. *l. viii. c. 8.*—Plut. *in Cat. Min.*—Hor. *l. i. sat. 5.*—Plin. *Epist. l. v. ep. 6.*—Vid. *chap. xiii.*

† Seneca, *de Tranq. An. c. 15.*

The young men were chiefly engaged in athletic sports, in a large plain by the side of the Tiber, called the *Campus Martius*; or in public schools where they were instructed in riding, driving, and the various military exercises. Boxing, wrestling, and throwing the *discus* or quoit, held a prominent share in their amusements; but chariot driving took the lead before all others.

When boxing took a more serious turn, it became a contest of much greater danger than the modern pugilistic battle. The combatants wore gloves loaded with metal, and, if we may credit Virgil, the issue of "the fight" was often fatal to one or both of them.

— "He threw
Two ponderous gauntlets down in open view—
Gauntlets, which Eryx wont in fight to wield,
And sheath his hands within the listed field.
With fear and wonder seized, the crowd beholds
The *gloves of death*, with seven distinguish'd folds
Of tough bull-hides; the space within is spread
With iron, or with heavy loads of lead."

DRYDEN, *Æn. l. v.*

Whether they were as expert as the pugilists of the present day, we have no means of ascertaining; but it is certain that the professors of the art were

trained with equal regularity; and there can be little doubt of their prowess, as we are told of one of them having had his whole set of teeth knocked down his throat at a single blow !

Both horse and chariot-races, but especially the latter, were favorite diversions of the people in general; and in order to enjoy them at their ease, there was an enclosed course immediately adjoining the city, called the *Circus*, although in point of fact, its form was oval. It was rather more than a mile in circumference; was surrounded with seats in the form of an amphitheatre, and three tiers of galleries; and was calculated to contain at least 150,000, or, as some suppose, more than 250,000 spectators. In the centre there was a barrier twelve feet in breadth and four in height, round which the race was performed, and at one end there stood a triumphal arch, through which the successful charioteer drove amid the plaudits of the assembly. The horses ran to the left, and were restrained by a chain across the goal until the signal was given for starting; and it is remarkable that the same method is still continued in the annual races given during the Carnival at Rome. The race was generally decided in one heat of five, or sometimes seven times round the course, which, in the latter instance, was a distance of about four

English miles. Four chariots usually started together, the drivers of which were distinguished by dresses of different colors, each of which had its partizans, who betted largely on their favorite; for it was neither the charioteer nor his horses that interested them, but the color which they adopted; and so far was this carried, that the people were actually divided into parties who espoused the pretensions of the different liveries with such warmth, that all Rome was at one time agitated with the disputes of the *green and red factions*. The chariots, as they are usually called, were nothing more than uncovered two-wheeled cars, high and circular in front, and open behind. They were drawn by three or four horses, abreast, which the driver guided in a standing position, with the reins fastened round his body; a custom which occasioned many serious accidents; for, the course being narrow, the turnings sharp and frequent, and both jostling and crossing permitted, the carriages were often overturned.

We have very little information respecting their jockies; and it is not improbable that their horse-races were commonly run, as in modern Italy, without riders. Mention is indeed made of matches in which two horses were rode together by one

man; and of some in which the riders leaped, during the race, from the horses on which they were mounted to others which they led: but these appear more like feats of horsemanship than trials of speed. These sports were repeated in apparently endless succession, not only at the Circus already described, but at six similar, though smaller courses in the city, or its immediate vicinity. It might be imagined that such a continued display would have satiated the most craving appetite for diversion; but the eagerness of the multitude was unabating; the capacious benches of the great circus were ever filled with a still untired crowd of spectators, and its vast area scarcely sufficed to contain the throng that pressed for admission. When the people were deprived by the emperors of their ancient right to choose their own magistrates, they lost the interest they formerly took, with the weight they possessed, in the affairs of the state: vast numbers were wholly without employment, and those who had no other means of support were provided for at the public expense; thus, masters of their time, and no longer finding occupation in the cabals of the forum, they devoted themselves, with an ardor that partook more of the nature of a mania than a taste, to the various amusements which the government,

no doubt to divert their attention from its measures, provided for the public—

“ And those who once with unresisted sway,
Gave armies, empires, every thing, away,
For two poor claims had long renounced the whole,
And only ask'd—the circus and the dole.”

Gifford's Juvenal, sat. x.

The principal Circus—termed, for pre-eminence, the *Circus Maximus*—is supposed to have been as old as the time of Tarquinius Priscus. Its original destination was only to celebrate the public games on great public festivals; and, as these were sacred to the gods, temples and altars were erected to some of the deities around and within its precincts, and the amusements were preceded by a procession of their images followed by the cars and horses intended to be exhibited. These sacred games were usually held in the months of August and September, and were generally given at the cost of the *Ædiles*—under whose inspection they were, and who, in their eagerness to gain popularity, sometimes ruined themselves by the immense expense at which they were conducted. They were not confined to horse and chariot races, but consisted also of combats of gladiators, and the exhibition of various feats of activity. There were other annual games also in

commemoration of great events, or in honor of individual gods; among which the festival of Flora—held on the first of May—was remarkable for the licentious exhibition of foot-races by naked females. The grossness of this practice has, indeed, been abolished, but the ancient celebration of these Floral games may yet be traced in the rustic sports still continued, on that day, throughout modern Europe.

Of the form of the carriages in use among the Romans we have no certain description. They were of various kinds: a chair, or sedan—called *sella*—and a couch, both open and covered, on which they reclined—termed *lectica*—were much used in the city, and sometimes also on journeys. These were borne on poles; the former by two, and the latter by four, or six slaves in livery. The *lecticæ* are supposed to have been introduced, towards the close of the republic, from Asia, where they are still used under the name of *palanquins*: they were furnished with a mattress and pillows, and had feet to support them when set down, which were frequently of silver, sometimes even of gold, and the whole was most splendidly decorated. There was also a kind of close litter, carried by two mules, which probably resembled a carriage of that description in use at this day in Spain and

Portugal—countries, it may be observed, in which many traces of Roman customs, as well as antiquities, are yet to be found. The litter alluded to is a double sedan, in the manner of a vis-à-vis, and the mules are placed between the poles, one before, and the other behind; it forms an easy, though slow conveyance, and is chiefly used by ladies and invalids, and in those places where the roads do not admit of carriages on wheels: but the Roman *lectica* was as much employed by men as by females.

There were also carriages, on two wheels, and drawn by two or more horses abreast; and four-wheeled cars, or coaches, drawn by four, and sometimes six horses, or mules. These were painted of various colors, highly ornamented, and it would appear that some were covered, and even accommodated with glasses, in the manner of our close carriages; but of their form we possess but little information. The wheels were made in much the same manner as at present; though sometimes they were formed of a solid circle of timber, and the tire was not unfrequently of brass; and, so far as we may judge from representations on ancient sculpture and medals, they were cumbrously heavy.

The horses were yoked to the carriage by means

of a curved cross-bar, fastened to the pole, and passing over their necks; and were guided, as at present, by bridles and reins, which were sometimes of embroidered silk with gold bits. The driver sat close behind the pole, and does not appear to have had an elevated seat; but, in all other respects, he seems to have managed his cattle like a modern coachman.

Besides horses and mules, many other animals—dogs, goats, deer, and, it is related, even bears, leopards, lions, and tygers, were occasionally used in carriages; but more, it is to be presumed, for show, and to gratify a whimsical taste, than for real service.

The post-carriage, used for travelling, appears to have had the body of wicker-work; and, in fact, to have been nothing more than a light two-wheeled cart, drawn by three mules: it is still employed, for the same purpose, throughout the south of Spain.

The first establishment in Europe of *post-carriages*, for travelling, is due to the emperor Augustus. But they were only for the use of the public couriers; and although private persons were sometimes permitted to employ them, it was only in virtue of a royal mandate; but the expense, it should be observed, was defrayed by government.

The relays were frequent, and at regular distances throughout every part of the empire. In the reign of Trajan we find Pliny travelling in post-chaises from Ephesus to Pergamum—the ancient Troy—and apologizing to the emperor for having granted to his wife an order for post-horses, from his government in Anatolia to Rome.* Of the celerity with which they travelled, an idea may be formed from the record of a journey made by Cesarius, a magistrate of rank, in the time of Theodosius, who went post from Antioch to Constantinople. He began his journey at night; was in Cappadocia—165 miles from Antioch—the ensuing evening, and arrived at Constantinople the sixth day about noon; the whole distance being 725 Roman, or 665 English miles.†

Persons who merely took the air on horseback or in carriages, were accustomed to assemble in an open space, used solely for that purpose, called the *Gestatio*: it was laid out in the form of a circus, and there was usually one adjoining the villas of men of fortune. Those who were not provided with a carriage of their own, might avail themselves of

* Plin. *Epist.* l. x. ep. 26. 28. et 121.

† Gibbon, *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, vol. i. ch. 2.

numerous vehicles for hire, with which Rome abounded ; but walking was the prevalent exercise ; and luxury had introduced such a degree of sensuality into all their actions, that, not content with the natural advantages of their fine climate, they had long covered promenades, or porticos, where they might enjoy the air without being exposed to the changes of the weather. The most splendid of these were attached to the public baths ; but the spacious enclosure of the Campus Martius was also thus surrounded, and appears to have been a favorite lounge.

A period was put to these several occupations towards the ninth hour, or about three o'clock, when the opening of the public baths was announced by the sound of a bell ; at which well-known signal both business and amusement ceased, and all ranks hastened to partake of the enjoyment to which they were, without distinction, summoned.

CHAP. XX.

ON PRIVATE ENTERTAINMENTS.

Houses and Furniture—Progress of Refinement—Supper Rooms—Tables—Couches—Supper Dress—Arrangement of the Company—Guests—Parasites—Plate—Napkins—Gods of the Table—Religious Ceremonies—King of the Feast—Servants.

IF we remount to the early ages of the domestic history of the Romans, we shall find, that their diet consisted chiefly of milk and vegetables, with a coarse kind of pudding which served them in lieu of bread; it was composed of flour and water with the occasional addition of an egg, and is still in common use among the Italian peasantry under the name of *polenta*. They rarely indulged in meat, and wine was almost unknown to them. The ancient Romans, indeed, carried their dislike of luxury so far, that they expelled epicures from among them. Nor were they singular in this practice: the Spartans had their *Ephori*—magistrates, part of whose duty it was to take care that there should be no intemperate persons in the city: he who became fat through gluttony and idleness was

publicly beaten, and they who practised any other than the most simple art of cookery were banished.

The construction of their houses and furniture accorded in plainness with this frugality of diet. But the pristine simplicity of Roman manners yielded gradually to the foreign habits introduced by the conquests of the republic: Greece furnished models of taste in the fine arts, and Asia all the refinements of sensual indulgence; while the vast increase of wealth, the consequent progress of civilization, and the prodigious population of Rome itself, all contributed to the innovation; and luxury, at length, reached a pitch of lavish magnificence which conveys an idea rather of barbarous splendor, and profligate profusion, than of the refined enjoyments of polished society.

After the early period to which we have alluded, when luxury began to gain ground in Rome, but before it had arrived at the degree which it afterwards attained, each house contained, as we have already observed,* one spacious hall in which the family assembled, and which served for all the purposes of society; but, towards the close of the Republic, various apartments were constructed for the reception and entertainment of company, and in the time of the emperors, their decoration was

* See Chapter xii.

carried to its highest point of perfection. Amongst these, the eating-rooms—which more immediately claim our attention—were not the least remarkable for their grandeur: according to the proportions established by a celebrated architect of the age,* they were double their breadth in length; and in great houses, there were usually two, one of which was only for summer use, and was placed in the upper floor, for the enjoyment of the prospect which that situation generally afforded. Nero had saloons, in the golden palace, wainscotted with ivory, the pannels of which turned on pivots, and showered down flowers and perfumes on the guests from reservoirs behind them. The most splendid of these apartments was circular; and its vaulted roof was so constructed as to imitate the movement of the spheres, which represented a different season of the year as each course was placed upon the table. The supper-rooms of Heliogabalus were hung with cloth of gold and silver, enriched with jewelry; the frames of the couches were of massive silver, with mattresses covered with the richest embroidery, and the tables, and table-services, were of pure gold. These, it is true, are instances of regal magnificence, but

* Vitruvius, *de Architect.*

others were not wanting in the houses of private persons, which rivalled them in the elegance, and even the costliness of their furniture—

“ Where ivory couches overspread
With Tyrian carpets, glowing, fed
The dazzled eye ;” *

and where every corresponding ornament glittered in all the profusion of the most lavish display.

The tables were originally made of ordinary wood, square, and on four feet ; but the form was afterwards changed to circular, or oval, supported on a single carved pedestal, and they were richly inlaid with ivory, tortoise-shell, silver or gold, and sometimes even with the addition of precious stones. Those most valued were made of a kind of wood with which we are at present unacquainted: it appears to have been brought from some part of Barbary, and was called *citron-wood* ; but the timber from the tree of that name is far from beautiful, and certainly was not then so scarce as to command an extraordinary price ; yet we are told of a single table, formed of it, having cost a million of sesterces ! They were at first used without any covering, and it was not until the reign of the emperors that cloths were introduced: these were of colored woollen, or silk and wool intermixed,

* Francis's Horace, l. ii. sat. 6.

and variously ornamented with embroidery; but those most in fashion were striped with gold and purple. A canopy was suspended over the table, to guard it, as it is said, from the dirt of the ceiling. This, however it may have added to the decoration of the apartments, does not convey a very high idea of their cleanliness; and, in fact, Horace describes the accidental fall of the drape, at an entertainment, as having enveloped the company in a cloud of dust.*

In the time of their ancient poverty, the Romans were content to take their frugal meal seated on a bare bench; but they afterwards adopted the custom of lying down, at supper, on couches somewhat similar to the modern sofa. At first, the ladies did not deem this fashion decorous, and they long adhered to the ancient mode, as more becoming the modesty of the sex; but, from the period of the first Cæsars, they conformed to the practice of the men. This indulgence, however, was not

* *Hor. Sat. lib. ii. sat. 8.*—There is an anecdote in the life of Heliogabalus—(or more properly *Elagabalus*)—which forms no unapt commentary on the text. Among the various acts of folly committed by that weak prince, he is said to have ordered, that all the spiders and mice in Rome should be collected; and the quantity actually gathered, of the former, amounted to 10,000lb. weight: the mice being rather more difficult of access, only 11,000 were caught.

extended to young people, of either sex, and, when they were admitted at table, they were seated at the feet of their nearest relation. Each couch could accommodate three or four, but seldom five persons, who laid in a reclining posture, on the left arm, having the shoulders elevated with cushions, and the limbs extended behind whoever was next; so that, the head of the one was opposite to the breast of the other; and, in serving themselves, they only made use of the right hand. This mode of placing themselves is supposed to have been derived from the Asiatics, or the Carthaginians; but, perhaps, a better reason than that of mere imitation may be found in the custom of using the warm-bath immediately previous to their principal meal, at which alone they laid down; for, however refreshing, and even invigorating, it may eventually prove, it occasions a lassitude, at the moment, which demands repose; whence, probably, the recumbent position was adopted. That of sitting, at supper, became afterwards a sign of mourning; in allusion to which Plutarch tells us, that after the defeat of Pompey, Cato never laid himself down, but to sleep.

The couches were ranged on three sides only of the table, the other remaining vacant for the more convenient attendance of the servants; but when

the form of the table was changed from square to circular, it became customary to place but one large couch partly around it, in the manner of a crescent. The improvement in the decoration of the table was followed, as may be supposed, by that of the couch; and from having been formed of the coarsest materials—stuffed with straw, and covered with skins—it became not uncommon to see them inlaid with the precious metals, and furnished with mattresses of the softest down covered with the richest stuffs. The ancient poets, and even graver writers, are full of descriptions of them, and have long dissertations on their substance and fashion, the choice of the purple, and the perfection of the brocade; and from them have been obtained some of the most elegant patterns of modern furniture.

The dress worn at table differed from that in use on other occasions, and consisted merely of a loose robe of a slight texture, and generally white. Cicero accuses Valerius, as if it were a crime, of having appeared at an entertainment dressed in black, although it was on the occasion of a funeral; and compares him to a fury whose presence spread dismay among the assembly. The sandals were taken off, lest they should soil the costly cushions, and the feet were covered with slippers,

or, not unfrequently, left naked. Water was presented to the company to wash the hands, and even the feet, before they laid down; and they were then perfumed with essences.* It was also customary to sprinkle the apartments with scented waters: but these were probably far inferior, both in odour and variety, to those of the present day, as the ancients neither possessed so many species of flowers as the moderns, nor were they so well acquainted with the art of distilling them; and their chief perfume was always extracted from saffron.

Precedence was strictly attended to, and in families of distinction there was always a master of the ceremonies who arranged the company; but in those of inferior condition that duty devolved on the giver of the entertainment. The master of the house occupied the second place on the centre couch, that immediately below him being reserved for his wife, and that above, for the most distinguished guest: those next in rank took the upper couch. Guests were allowed to bring their friends, though uninvited, along with them, and they were frequently accompanied by some humble dependants,

* This custom is mentioned in the New Testament, in *Luke* viii. 37 and 38, and *John* xii. 2. Allusion is also made to the supper-dress, in *Matthew* xxii. 12; and to the mode of reclining at supper, in *John* xiii. 23.

who, however, do not seem to have been treated with much respect, and were even distinguished by the sneering appellation of "shadows." These, with the parasites of the family—also contemptuously nick-named "flies," from those insects intruding themselves every where—and the clients, were placed on the lower couches. The custom of entertaining parasites—men who professedly repaid the hospitality of their host with the grossest adulation—was general, and betrays a want of delicacy and refinement but little in unison with the elevation of sentiment and dignity of manners which we are taught to consider as characteristic of the Romans, as well as a humiliating contrast with the high-minded independence of their ancestors:—

"Admitted as an humble guest,
Where men of money break their jest,
He waits the nod with awe profound,
And catches, ere it reach the ground,
The falling joke, and echoes back the sound."

Francis's Horace, b. i. ep. 18.

They were not alone looked upon with the contempt which their servility perhaps merited, but they were often treated with a degree of coarseness, that reflected as little credit on the manners, as on the hospitality, of their entertainers; and we should find it difficult to determine whether

most to despise, the meanness of the patron who could impose, or that of the sycophants who would submit to, such a tax upon their reception. Amongst many practical jokes played off on this unhappy tribe, there was, however, one with which Heliogabalus sometimes amused himself, that may perhaps admit of excuse. He received them in his most splendid banqueting-room, and there was placed before them, to all appearance, a supper consisting of every delicacy in season. But, alas ! the meat was painted wood, the fruit was wax, and instead of wine, the vases contained only colored water. Still the courses were served in regular succession ; the emperor pressed them to do honor to the entertainment ; and, after going through all the forms of a sumptuous feast, they were dismissed supperless.

So long as the Romans were satisfied with the mere necessities of life, their table services were only of earthen-ware, or wood. The use of plate was deemed so inconsistent with the simplicity of republican manners, that, so late as the year 477 of the commonwealth, P. Corn. Rufinus was expelled the senate because he possessed about ten pounds weight in silver ; although he had been twice consul, and once dictator, in which situations it may be presumed that he would have been

indulged in the greatest admissible latitude of pomp. At a later period, plate became so general, notwithstanding various sumptuary laws prohibiting its use, that it was as common as it had been previously rare, and, in the time of the emperors, it was frequently of gold. Crassus is said to have possessed some of which the workmanship alone cost about fifty-two shillings the ounce. Sylla had silver dishes of sixteen hundred ounces; and one Drusianus Rotundus, a freedman of the emperor Claudius, had one that weighed five hundred pounds, which was the centre dish of eight others, each weighing fifty pounds. Others, though not quite so extravagant with regard to the size, were equally profuse in the abundance and value of their plate, and, in general, their side-boards were loaded with a sumptuous display of massive vessels of the most costly description.

Amidst all this ostentation, a custom of singular meanness prevailed—each guest provided his own napkin; it was carried by a slave, whose duty it also was to bring it back; but it seldom returned empty; it generally contained a portion of the supper, and it was even customary for the guests to send some part of it to their families during the entertainment. This was not discontinued until long after the reign of Augustus, when it at length

became the fashion for the master of the house to furnish his company with napkins, and their paltry perquisite was abolished.

Small figures of Mercury, Hercules, and the penates, were placed upon the table—of which they were deemed the presiding genii—and a small quantity of wine was poured upon the board at the commencement and at the end of the repast, as a libation in honor of them, accompanied by a prayer: it was a custom derived from the remotest antiquity, and was ever scrupulously adhered to with pious reverence. The salt was placed beside them, and was looked upon as a thing sacred; if forgotten, or spilled, the table was considered as profaned, and it was supposed to portend some dire misfortune—a superstition derived from the Greeks, as well as that of viewing it as a bad omen to be thirteen in company, which have, indeed, descended to more modern times, and are not even yet entirely exploded. The table itself was held in veneration, as being sanctified by the presence of their gods, and devoted to the rites of hospitality, and the cultivation of friendship: were a solemn asseveration made, they touched it with the same reverence as if it were an altar, and an act of violence committed there would have been punished as a sacrilege. This religious respect, these liba-

tions and prayers, were so many public protestations by which the pagans avowed their obligation to the divinity for the benefits they enjoyed ; while the more enlightened Christians of the present age, regardless of the observances of their ancestors, and the precepts of their religion, now generally omit to consecrate their meals by any act of acknowledgment to the Deity.

Grace being ended, the king of the feast was appointed. His functions much resembled those of the president of a convivial club : he alone regulated the festivities of the table ; called upon whom he pleased to sing, to tell his story, or to amuse the company by any other talent he might possess ; announced the quantity of wine to be drank to each health, or toast ; decreed the forfeitures of non-compliance ; and enforced his authority under penalty of additional bumpers. Plutarch has a long dissertation on the qualities which this arbitrary sovereign ought to possess : even Cato the Censor acknowledged that, old as he was, he was delighted at being of those convivial parties where the king of the feast animated each of the company to contribute his share to the general hilarity ; and the importance attached by some of the gravest personages to the exercise of

his jolly duties, very forcibly depicts the attachment of the Romans to social enjoyment. He was generally elected by lot, though sometimes by acclamation; and it is to this custom that Horace alludes, when he says—

“ No more the dice shall there assign
To thee the jovial monarchy of wine.”

FRANCIS, *b. i. ode 4.*

At great entertainments, the supper-room was hung with garlands of flowers, and the guests, and servants, were crowned with chaplets. The slaves in attendance were numerous, and employed in separate services: those whose immediate place it was to wait at the table, were lightly clad, and girt with napkins; some were stationed at the side-board in charge of the wine and plate; others were appointed to remove the courses; and others again to ventilate the apartment with large fans of feathers. But the important personage of all was the carver, whose duty was, not merely the dissection of the joints, but their distribution also; which required no small share of discrimination, as the company were treated according to their rank, and those on the lower couches did not always partake of the dainties served at the upper seats. A distinction was even made between them in the quality

of the wine, the best sorts of which were seldom allowed to reach the lower end of the table. The liberal and elegant Pliny the younger, indeed, reprobates this practice, very properly terming it “an alliance of luxury with sordidness;” and Juvenal severely satirises it.* We may therefore conclude, that the custom was not without its exceptions; but they who sacrifice largely to ostentation, seldom reserve much to bestow in real liberality, and it is not the less certain that it was the prevailing mode of treating the inferior guests.

Amongst all their refinements to promote indulgence, it never occurred to the wealthy citizens of Rome to apply the bell to the obvious purpose of summoning their servants, and the mode they usually adopted to require their attendance, was the inelegant one of snapping their fingers. The use of forks was also entirely unknown to them; and it has even been questioned, whether they made use of knives, or did not wholly rely upon the assistance of the carver.

Besides the ornaments of the dining-room, already mentioned, we read of “Tyrian carpets,” “Persian arras,” and “silken draperies,” with which the floors, the walls, and windows of their

* Plin. *Epist.* l. ii. *ep.* 6.—Juvenal, *sat.* v.

saloons were covered. The floors, however, were generally bare, though richly tessellated; the ceilings were frequently adorned with a fret-work of gold and ivory; the walls were usually painted in fresco, or encrusted with sculptured marble; and both paintings and statuary were lavished with profusion even in the houses of persons of inferior rank. Scented oil was used for illuminating the apartments; and ample carved lamps, each resting on a massive candelabrum of figured bronze, reflected their brilliancy on a gorgeous display of surrounding magnificence, that fully justified the description given by Virgil; which, though written for a period to which it could not apply, was no doubt taken from the scenes of which he was a witness at the court of Augustus.

“ Now purple hangings clothe the palace walls,
And sumptuous feasts are made in splendid halls.
On Tyrian carpets, richly wrought, they dine;
With loads of massy plate, the side-boards shine,
And antique vases, all of gold emboss'd,
—The gold itself inferior to the cost
Of curious work.”

DRYDEN, *Æn. b. i.*

CHAP. XXI.

ON CONVIVIAL PARTIES.

Progress of the Culinary Art—Sumptuary Laws—Epicurism—Instances of Profusion—Supper—Favorite Dishes—Manner of Drinking—Anecdote of Antony and Cleopatra—Games of Chance—Lotteries—Buffoons and Dancing Girls—The Parting Cup—Presents—Anecdote of Domitian—Protervian Sacrifice—The Commissatio.

DURING the most distinguished æra of the republic, the repasts were prepared with sufficient attention to elegance and abundance, but the refinements of cookery were but little understood, and the pleasures of the table consisted more in society and rational conversation than in the indulgence of sensual gratification. We have already seen how Cato the Censor spoke of them, and the animated description given by Horace, at a still later period, breathes equal conviviality tempered with discretion :—

“ O! nights which furnish such a feast,
As even gods themselves might taste !
Thus fare my friends, thus feed my slaves,
Alert, on what their master leaves.
Each person there may drink and fill
As much or little as he will,

Exempted from the bedlam rules
Of roaring prodigals and fools;
Whether in merry-mood, or whim,
He takes a bumper to the brim,
Or better pleas'd to let it pass,
Grows mellow with a scanty glass.
Nor this man's house, nor that's estate,
Becomes the subject of debate;
Nor whether Lepos the buffoon
Knows how to dance a rigadoon:
But what concerns us more, I trow,
And were a scandal not to know;
If happiness consists in store
Of riches, or in virtue more;
Whether esteem, or private ends,
Directs us in our choice of friends;
What's real good without disguise,
And where its great perfection lies."

FRANCIS, *b. ii. sat. 6.*

But this comparative moderation yielded to the tide of Asiatic luxury which inundated Rome after the conquest of the eastern provinces, and sumptuousness and profusion were carried to an extent almost as incredible as it was, in most instances, absurd. The cook, who had formerly been considered as the meanest of the slaves, became the most important officer of the household; and his art, which was before held in some contempt, rose

to the rank of a science, the professors of which were so valued that, Pliny says, the purchase of a cook cost as much as the expense of a triumph, and no mortal was so valued as the slave who was most expert in the art of ruining his master.

Sumptuary laws were, indeed, enacted to check the progress of this excess; and they not merely limited the number of the guests, but went more to the root of the evil, by regulating the expense, and subjecting both the entertainer, and his company, to fines if it were exceeded. Julius Cæsar revived some which had fallen into disuse, and was so strict in enforcing obedience to them, that he frequently sent the lictors to the houses of persons who were informed against for a breach of the statutes, and had the dishes carried off from their tables, if they exceeded the permitted number. Augustus passed an edict by which the expense of a repast, on ordinary occasions, was not to exceed two hundred sesterces,—about 1*l.* 12*s.* 6*d.*—three hundred on days of solemnity, and one thousand for a wedding feast: this was somewhat less severe than those preceding it, and the sum was afterwards extended to two thousand sesterces. The severity of these laws can, however, only be estimated by a reference to the prices at which the delicacies of the table could be purchased, and on this subject very

little information has been obtained. We learn that, in the early part of the reign of Augustus, the price of a *fat peacock* was about twelve shillings, and of the eggs fifteen pence ; but these were extraordinary rarities. It should also be observed, that the sumptuary laws did not extend to fruit or vegetables ; and it appears, that the gourmands of Rome indemnified themselves by a lavish use of them for the restrictions imposed on more substantial fare. But notwithstanding these restraints, luxury, still stronger than the laws, broke through the barriers they interposed ; so that earth and sea, as historians tell us, scarcely sufficed to supply the tables ; and, at length, epicurism reached to such a sickly pitch of refinement, that viands were only esteemed in proportion to their cost. Thus, Maltese cranes, peacocks, and rare singing birds, although hardly eatable, were esteemed great delicacies, and their tongues and brains still greater ; oysters from the coast of Britain were more prized than those taken on their own shores, though the former could never have been eaten fresh ; and we are told of a single sur-mullet, which had reached a size somewhat larger than common, having been sold for a sum equivalent to fifty guineas.*

* This fish was found in abundance in the markets of Rome ; it was not, therefore, its rarity, but its uncommon

Nor was this all: gluttony kept pace with epicurism, and was indulged in to such disgusting excess, that emetics were used to enable the stomach, already gorged with a full meal, to bear a further load; and though we are not to suppose that so loathsome a practice was universal, it has, yet, been too much animadverted upon by contemporary authors, to allow us to conclude that it was confined to a few individual instances.

The profusion which reigned in some of their entertainments was such, that Suetonius tells us of two thousand fishes and seven thousand birds, of the rarest kinds, having been served at one given by L. Vitellius to his brother the emperor; and Plutarch—speaking of the excesses of Antony at Alexandria—says, that eight wild boars were usually roasted as part of the supper; not that they were intended to be served up together, but that, as it was uncertain at what hour Antony would choose to sup, there was always a variety of food in dif-

size, that commanded the extravagant price mentioned in the text. The fact alluded to is not isolated; various instances of such absurd profusion are recorded, not only by the poets—who might be expected to exaggerate—but by graver writers. As the sur-mullet was valued in proportion to its bigness, so was the pike for the opposite quality.

ferent stages of preparation to be ready at the moment he might call for it.*

The table of Heliogabalus was regularly served with ragoûts of the livers and brains of small birds, the heads of parrots and pheasants, and the tongues of peacocks and nightingales: the carcasses were given to the beasts in his menagerie. But our astonishment at the absurdity of this extravagance, in a monarch, will be lessened if we reflect upon that of the celebrated Apicius, and of Æsop, the famous tragic actor; the latter of whom served up to his guests a dish filled with birds which had each been taught either to sing or to speak, and dissolved pearls in the wine which his company drank; and the former, after having wasted half a million sterling on the mere pleasures of the table, put an end to his existence—not out of regret for his past folly, but in despair that eighty thousand pounds, which still remained of his former fortune, would not enable him to continue it.† Prodigality

* Sueton. *in Vit. Vitell.*—Plut. *in Vit. Ant.*

† Epicurism appears to have been hereditary in the family of this person. Besides the Apicius alluded to, and already so renowned in the annals of gastronomy, there were two others of the same name almost equally celebrated for their skill in that profound science, and their profusion in its application;

of expense seems, indeed, to have been more studied than delicacy of taste, and sumptuous waste more than elegant arrangement.

The supper—if a meal taken about four o'clock in the afternoon may be so called consistently with modern ideas—was usually composed of two courses, and a dessert. The first consisted of eggs stained of various colors, shell-fish, vegetables, and such trifles as compose the entremêts at our tables; the second comprised the ragoûts, roast meat, and fish; the latter, particularly, was a luxury in such request, that without it no Roman of fashion could be persuaded that he had supped. The dessert contained the usual proportion of fruit and confectionary, much in the modern style; but it was customary to serve it on a separate table, and even the more substantial parts of the supper were occasionally brought in on portable tables, or placed before the guests on frames.

Some of their greatest dainties would be apt to startle a modern epicure: snails, and a species of white maggot found in old timber, were fattened

one of whom lived in the time of the republic, the other in that of the emperor Trajan: but the *great* Apicius, the immortal author of “The Art of Cookery,” flourished in the reigns of Augustus and Tiberius. Vide *Seneca de Consolat. ad. Helv.* c. x. *et de Vit. beat.* c. xi.

with peculiar care, and served only at the best tables; and stewed sows' teats, and water-rats, were in great request. Martial celebrates a cook who prepared the paps of a sow with so much art that they appeared as if still full of milk;* The elder Pliny says, that fricasseed sucking puppies were worthy of being served at a supper for the gods;† and, according to Horace—

“ A lamb's fat paunch was a delicious treat.”

FRANCIS, *b. i. ep. 15.*

Poultry, of every kind known at present, except the turkey,‡ were abundant, and in common use; but the favourite fowl was a goose, of which incredible numbers were annually consumed. Whether this partiality arose from veneration for the

* Mart. l. xiii. epig. 43. The most approved receipt for dressing them is to be found in *Apicius de Art. Coquin.* l. vii. c. 2.

† *Hist. Nat.* l. xxix. c. 4.

‡ It has been generally supposed, that the birds known to the ancients under the name of *Meleagrides* were the same as our turkeys; and that conjecture has given rise to much learned controversy. But Professor Beckmann, who has summed up the proofs and arguments, on both sides, with great perspicuity, has clearly shown, that they were not known in Europe until after the discovery of America, in which country they are indigenous; and that the birds mentioned in ancient authors by the name of *Gallinæ Africanæ*—Guinea-fowls—were, in fact, the same as the *Meleagrides*.

memorable service rendered to the state by this bird, or from other qualities more easily appreciated, and more generally acknowledged, or whether its destruction may not rather be considered as a trait of ingratitude, has already been made the subject of grave discussion among learned commentators, and still remains an unsettled point. Some have supposed, that time effaced the recollection of the obligation; while others, anxious to reconcile the conduct of the Romans in this affair with their principles, have contended, that they ever respected the immediate descendants of the Capitoline Geese—the brood of which was preserved with the utmost care—and that, it would be unreasonable to expect that their gratitude should have extended to the collateral branches. The livers of these animals were, as they still are in some parts of the continent, esteemed great delicacies, and means were then, as now, contrived to increase their natural size; but, if we may credit the following enumeration of rarities, the epicurism of the ancients extended even to the color of the bird that produced them:—

“ The slaves behind in mighty charger bore
A crane in pieces torn, and powder'd o'er
With salt and flour; and *a white gander's liver*,
Stuff'd fat with figs, bespoke the curious giver;

Besides the wings of hares, for so, it seems,
 No man of luxury the back esteems.
 Then saw we blackbirds with o'er-roasted breast
 Laid on the board, and ring-doves rumpless drest :
 Delicious fare !"—

Francis's Hor. b. ii. sat. 8.

But the most sumptuous dish that graced the Roman table was an entire boar, roasted, and stuffed, *à la troyenne*, with game and poultry. The animal itself was in such esteem with the lovers of good cheer, that Juvenal terms it—

——“ a beast

Designed by nature for the social feast !” *

and Horace, who was no contemptible judge in such matters, boasts of—

——“ A Lucanian boar, of tender kind,
 Caught, says our host, in a soft southern wind.
 Around him lay whatever could excite,
 With pungent force, the jaded appetite ;
 Rapes, lettuce, radishes, anchovy brine,
 With skerrets, and the lees of Coan wine.”

FRANCIS, b. ii. sat. 8.

Fish was sometimes brought to table alive, and weighed in the presence of the company, that they might ascertain its value, and enjoy, in anticipation, the pleasure of feasting on it when dressed. When any very rare dish was served, the slaves

* OWEN, *sat. i.*

who bore it were decorated with flowers; it was announced with great ceremony, ushered in with music, and received with the joyous acclamations of the expectant guests. We are told, that the emperor Sept. Severus was complimented on the honors he had thus rendered to a sturgeon; and more particularly, on the renovation of the custom, which, it would appear, had fallen somewhat into disuse. In the reign of Domitian, the senate was convened to consult on the best mode of dressing a turbot of extraordinary size, which had been presented to the emperor; and although it, certainly, formed no part of the duties of senators to regulate the mysteries of the despot's kitchen, yet Domitian probably knew, that no council of cooks could furnish him with better advice. The turbot was boiled: but the most important point—the sauce with which it was served—has not, unhappily for the science of the table, been recorded. It must, however, afford consolation to the amateurs of good-eating, that Horace has, with commendable care, preserved the receipt for the *sauce epicurienne* of the Augustan age:—

“ Two sorts,” (*he says*) “ of sauce are worthy to be known ;
Simple the first, and of sweet oil alone :
The other—mix'd with rich and generous wine,
And the true pickle of Byzantian brine,

Let it, with shredded herbs and saffron boil,
And when it cools, pour in Venafran oil."

FRANCIS, *b. ii. sat. 4.*

Wine was served in large earthen vases, which circulated as the decanters do after dinner at an English table, and bore, each, a label describing the age and quality of the liquor it contained. There were cups, to drink out of, of various dimensions and materials, which it would be tedious to particularize: that most generally used, was the *cyathus*; it was a small goblet—at elegant tables usually of gold or silver, not uncommonly ornamented with precious stones—and contained about the same quantity as a modern wine glass. Pliny says, that during the reign of Nero, vases and cups, in imitation of crystal, were obtained from Alexandria, in Egypt, at that time celebrated for the manufacture of glass. But they were both rare and expensive; and although mentioned by ancient authors as articles of great luxury, and notwithstanding it is certain that the ancients were, from a very remote period, acquainted with the art of fabricating glass,* and

* Pliny ascribes the invention of glass to a period about one thousand years antecedent to the Christian Æra; but it probably was still more ancient, as the mummies of the Thebais, which are supposed to be six centuries older, are said to have been decorated with glass beads.

even, at a later date, with that of cutting it,* yet, if we may judge from the specimens found among the ruins of Herculaneum and Pompeii, they were of coarse materials and rude workmanship. Vases were also formed of a substance termed *murrhine*; but whether this was porcelain, or sardonyx, or agate, has not been determined by antiquarians. Many circumstances lead to the conclusion that they were merely china, manufactured in the east; but in opposition to these is the enormous price at which they were sold, which we may presume could not have been obtained unless the material of which they were composed was of great rarity; and Pliny mentions it decisively as a fossile production procured on the shores of the Caspian Sea.† The wine, when brought to table, was passed through strainers in which were small pieces of ice, and it was sometimes both cooled and weakened by an admixture of snow; with the mode of preserving which for summer use the ancients appear to have been acquainted from a very remote period. In winter, it was usual to temper it with warm water;

* Two ancient glasses found at Nismes, which are described in the celebrated work of Count Caylus, were covered with figures; but the period at which they were made has not been ascertained.—See *Recueil d'Antiquités*, vol. ii. p. 363.

† Plin. *Hist. Nat.* l. xxxvii.

but it is probable that it was only the inspissated wines of great age and strength that were drank thus diluted. It was not poured from the vase, but the cyathus was dipped into it, and, in houses where much etiquette of attendance was observed, that duty was performed by boys attired with more care than the other slaves.

It was customary to drink toasts and healths; and sometimes, when any very animating sentiment was given, the company pledged it by throwing their chaplets into the wine; which was called "*drinking the crowns.*" During the preparations for the battle of Actium, Antony, having suspected Cleopatra of a design to poison him, refused to partake of any thing at her table until she had previously tasted it. Cleopatra laughed at his fears; and, having dressed herself in a wreath of poisoned flowers, she proposed, after supper, "to drink the crowns." Antony, out of gallantry, immediately threw the one she wore into his cup, and had already carried it to his lips, when the queen, seizing his arm, informed him of his danger; and thus proved to him, that his suspicions were as groundless as his precautions were unavailing. These chaplets, however, were not always composed of flowers. The ancients imagined that certain plants possessed the quality of preventing

intoxication, and, with that view, they bound their heads with wreaths of ivy, of vervain, and of parsley—a custom which they borrowed from the Greeks, who, themselves, took it from the orientals;* yet, with whimsical inconsistency, they used provocatives to promote drinking which may fairly vie with those still in use among modern bon-vivans, and we are exultingly told, that—

“ Stew’d shrimps and Afric cockles shall excite
A jaded drinker’s languid appetite.”
Or, “ Grapes and apples, with the lees of wine,
White pepper, common salt, and herring-brine.”

Francis’s Hor. b. ii. sat. 4.

In the early ages of the commonwealth, the men were not permitted to drink wine until they had attained their thirtieth year. The use of it was altogether interdicted to women: if they infringed this rule, their husbands, or even their nearest relatives, were allowed to chastise them; and a law is said to have existed, in the time of Romulus, which subjected them to capital punishment if found in a state of intoxication. These enactments are not calculated to impress us with a favorable opinion of the manners of the age; but whether it was the scarcity of

* Allusion is pointedly made to this custom in the Old Testament: *Isaiah xxxiii. 1* and *3*.

the liquor, or the more probable motive of attention to the morals of the people, which gave rise to the prohibition, does not appear: from whatever cause it proceeded, certain it is, that their ancient sobriety ceased so soon as the grape became abundant, and excess in wine became so prevalent in Rome, that Pliny speaks of men—in polite society—who, after having drank to repletion, took goblet after goblet until they regorged it; then recommenced, and repeated this disgusting essay of their powers several times at the same sitting.*

A great moralist, of the time of Nero, represents even females passing whole nights at table, and, with charged goblets in their hands, not only vying with, but surpassing the most robust debauchees, in intemperance.† But the picture which he draws of their licentiousness, is, no doubt, over-charged, and the censure too generally applied, for the ladies usually withdrew before the orgies of the men commenced.

After supper, and sometimes even between the courses, they played at dice; for although gaming was forbidden, except during the feast of the

* Plin. *Hist. Nat. l. xiv. c. 22.*

† Seneca, *epist. xcv.* See also Juvenal, *sat. vi.*

Saturnalia,* yet the prohibition either extended only to houses of public resort, or was not enforced, and it was so general, that the emperors themselves indulged in it, and even Cato considered it as an amusement befitting old age. But he regarded it merely as a relaxation, and did not contemplate such a stake as could either excite the passions, or injure the fortune; whereas high-play was pursued by the nobility of Rome with all the frenzy which distinguishes that odious and destructive habit.

They had two kinds of dice: the *tesseræ*, and the *tali*. The first were cubes, like ours, and marked, also, on the faces, with numbers from one to six, but with the numeral characters instead of dots. The *tali* were oblong squares, and only numbered on the four sides--the deuce and the cinq being omitted. They were thrown from a box in many respects similar to that still in use.

* The festival during which this licence was permitted, was intended to commemorate, and in some degree represented the ancient equality of condition that reigned among mankind. During its continuance, the power of masters over their slaves was suspended, and they associated together with the utmost freedom, all distinction of rank, even in dress, being then entirely laid aside. It was held in the month of December, and lasted, at first three, and afterwards five days, which were one continued scene of joyous festivity.

The most usual game was one of mere chance, depending on the highest throw, and was played with three tesseræ. There was also one somewhat similar to our backgammon, or rather to a game much in vogue on the continent, and nearly resembling it, called trictrac. It was played with four tali, and fifteen counters on each side; the latter generally of gold and silver, or of differently colored glass. The table on which it was played contained twelve points on each side, divided by a line, and the counters were moved, according to the throws upon the tali, until they were forced over the boundary. The best throw at this game, was when all the dice presented different numbers; this was called *venus*; the worst was four aces, which were termed *canes*, or, in terms of still stronger disappointment, *damnosi canes*.

Many other games of chance were played; some from a spirit of gaming, others for mere amusement; but our information respecting them is very imperfect. One, however, remains to the present day—the *morra*—and is still common among the lower classes in Italy; it is played by two persons, and consists in holding up one, or both hands, and suddenly raising some of the fingers, while each, at the same moment, guesses at the number stretched out by the other.

When the emperors, and indeed, even when private individuals of rank gave an entertainment, part of the amusement sometimes consisted in a lottery, in which each ticket represented a prize. Considerable sums were occasionally distributed in this manner among the guests; but not in actual money; the prizes were generally pictures of various merit, trinkets, or things of more importance, contrasted with others of ridiculously small amount. Thus, in one given by Heliogabalus, one of the lots consisted of ten camels, and another of ten flies; others, ten ostriches, and ten eggs; ten pounds of gold, and ten of lead; and all in equally absurd proportion.

Soon after the establishment of the republic, it became customary, at their entertainments, to sing the praises of their great men to the sound of the flute and the cithara. But after the conquest of the Asiatic provinces, jugglers,* buffoons, and dancing girls were introduced; and a kind of pantomime—not always of the most modest description—was substituted for the ancient hymns and chorusses. These licentious exhibitions palled the sense they were meant to stimulate, and led to

* Many of the deceptions still practised by jugglers appear to have been familiar to the ancients: particularly the various tricks with fire, and with cups and balls.

such brutal depravity of taste, that gladiators were frequently introduced into them; and a diversion—if such, indeed, it may be called—which is a stain upon the manners, and the morals, of the Roman people, was adopted in the private assemblies of the patricians. In justice, however, to the society of Rome, it must not be concealed, that ladies and young persons retired whenever any scenes unfit to be represented before them were about to be exhibited. Nor, amidst all this extravagance of luxury, and laxity of manners, were splendid examples of moderation, and propriety of conduct, wanting among the men: at the tables of both the Pliny's, and of Atticus, readings from celebrated authors were substituted for the dances and combats exhibited at other houses, and the sober maxims of Cicero on this subject are too well known to require repetition.

The supper ended, as it began, with libations to the gods: prayers were offered for the safety and prosperity of the host, whose health was drank at the same time; together, during the reign of the Cæsars, with that also of the emperor; and a last cup was quaffed to one general “good-night.” This parting-cup—the *poculum boni genii* of the ancients—was a custom long religiously adhered to by our

hospitable forefathers, ere it was exploded by the cold refinement of modern manners; and is still preserved in the cordial “stirrup-cup” of our Scotch and Irish neighbours.

On taking leave of the host, he usually made his guest some present, more or less valuable as inclination or circumstances dictated. Some instances are recorded of extreme prodigality on such occasions; and others of absurdity. Among the former, Cleopatra’s gifts to Antony are prominent. After the superb entertainments made for him at Tarsus, she, each time, presented him with the entire service of plate, of the most costly description; and to each of the numerous friends who accompanied him, she gave presents of considerable value. The lavish munificence of Cleopatra to Antony, may not, indeed, excite much wonder: but we are told, that Verus invited eleven friends to a supper, after which he gave to each of them the page who had waited upon him at table, and all the costly cups of gold and crystal of which he had made use; with similar animals alive, both quadrupeds and birds, to those which had appeared at the table. To crown all, they were conveyed home, each in a splendid carriage, which was presented to them, together with the set of mules

by which it was drawn, and the muleteer by whom it was driven.

It is related of the emperor Domitian, that he summoned a party of senators and knights to one of the entertainments given by him on the occasion of his pretended victory over the Dacii. They were introduced, with much solemnity, into a saloon entirely hung with black, and all the furniture of the same sombre description. On taking their places, each found before him a small pillar, such as was usually raised over tombs, with his name inscribed on it, and surmounted by a sepulchral lamp; and they were attended by naked children, blackened from head to foot, to represent so many infernal dæmons. These sprites danced round the table with hideous grimaces, and then presented to the guests such meats as were used only at funeral ceremonies. A profound silence was observed by every one but Domitian, who, in a tone of portentous seriousness, entertained the company with lugubrious stories of murders and apparitions. It may be imagined with what appetite the supper was eaten; particularly when it is recollected, that the tyrant frequently entertained those unhappy wretches sumptuously at night, whom he put to death on the following day. At length, the guests were dismissed: but

they were conducted home with much caution and mystery, and soon after their arrival a messenger was announced from the emperor. Each concluded that it was his death warrant: but it was, on the contrary, the little imp who had waited upon him at table, now divested of his ominous black, elegantly dressed, and bearing, as a present, the monumental pillar—which proved to be of silver—and some article of plate.

The remains of the repast were partly distributed among the slaves, and such things as were not fit for further use were burned. This was a kind of sacrifice, and was termed *protervia*; in allusion to which, Cato said of a spendthrift who, after having squandered his fortune, accidentally set fire to his house—"that he had finished according to rule, with the protervian sacrifice."

Although the supper was the last regular meal of the day, it was not unfrequently followed by the *comissatio*—a slight collation after which the guests sat late, and drank deep; and this additional repast became at length so general, that invitations were given for it separately. It, therefore, answered to the supper of the present day, as the Roman supper did to our dinner; and their dinner, as we have already seen, was so slight and irregular, that it may be considered as the modern *déjeuner à la fourchette*.

CHAP. XXII.

ON MALE ATTIRE.

The Toga—The Prætextan and Virile Robes—Robes of State
 —The Tunic—Cloaks—Mourning—Fur—Hose—Diadems
 —Buskins—Sandals—Rings—Wigs—Beards—The Hair.

THE dress of the Romans has given rise to much controversial criticism; and although a tolerably accurate idea may be formed of the general appearance of their common attire, yet, several minutiae of the different parts and arrangement of their clothes and ornaments have been too imperfectly described in the writings of the ancients to admit, at present, of more than mere conjectural description. Various alterations also took place in their form and materials as the progress of luxury and the conquest of foreign countries introduced refinement and novelty; and although, during the continuance of the Republic, those innovations were rare, yet, at a later period, the changes of fashion seem to have been as frequent and capricious in ancient Rome as in any modern capital. The information most to be relied upon, is that which has been collected from antique sta-

tuary and the sculptured remains of ancient buildings ; but the figures represented on these monuments of antiquity, when not clothed in some official habit, are generally exhibited in the primitive dress by which the citizens of the Republic were distinguished in the time of its greatest simplicity, and cannot, besides, convey any idea of either its color or texture.

The ordinary habiliments of the Romans were the *Toga* and the *Tunic*. The *Toga* was a loose woollen robe, of a semicircular form, without sleeves, open from the waist upwards, but closed from thence downwards, and enveloping the limbs as far as the mid-leg. The upper part of the vest was drawn under the right arm, which was thus left uncovered, and, passing over the left shoulder, was there gathered into a knot, whence it fell in folds across the breast : this flap, being tucked into the girdle, formed a cavity which sometimes served as a pocket, and was also not unfrequently used as a covering for the head. The robe was worn shorter in front than behind ; its arrangement appears to have been an object of no common attention, and its superior amplitude was considered as a mark of dignity and elegance. It has been doubted by many commentators whether the *Toga* was actually fastened with a belt ; but it seems

generally admitted that, if not, the robe itself was so arranged as to answer the same purpose; and, indeed, it was generally of such ample size that without some such precaution it must have trailed along the ground. It must excite surprise that, with all the advantages afforded by draped statues, and the details of the Roman costume contained in the classics, no more accurate description can be presented; for it must be acknowledged, that the most elaborate accounts which have been collected cannot enable us to comprehend clearly in what manner the Toga was adjusted. This, however, has arisen partly from the obscurity in which many of the familiar terms in which dress is spoken of by ancient authors are now involved, and from the difficulty of tracing the exact form of a garment through all the folds of the outward drapey, which only can be represented by the sculptor.

The Toga was the habit of ceremony, and the distinctive dress of a Roman citizen, and so much importance was attached to it, that exiles were deprived of the right to wear it during the term of their banishment: it was consequently always worn in public by all but the very lowest classes; but we may infer from the pleasure with which many

ancient authors speak of laying it aside in the unrestrained indulgence of domestic life, that it was both cumbrous and inconvenient. The cloth of which it was composed being, in the early ages, chiefly woven at home by the females of the family, we may presume that it was not then remarkable for the delicacy of its texture; but even at a later period, it was, no doubt, much coarser than that generally used for clothes at the present day. Its color was, invariably, plain white, unless the rank of the wearer occasioned some corresponding ornament to be added; or, in case of mourning, when it was black, or a coarse gray; which latter seems to have been produced by an intermixture of the undyed wool of black sheep. This robe was not worn until the age of seventeen had been completed, at which period young men were considered to have attained to manhood, and were allowed to rank as citizens; wherefore it was called the *toga virilis*. They were previously clothed in the *prætextan robe*, which was similar in every respect to that just described, except that it had a border of purple round the edges. This was also the habit of the priesthood and the magistracy. Along with it, the sons of persons of rank wore an ornament of gold in the form of a ball, or, as

some suppose of a heart, suspended round the neck : * it was hollow, and probably, in its origin, contained some amulet for their protection, in the same manner as the Samothracian rings mentioned by Lucretius were supposed to contain a charm within their concavity; † but in process of time it was considered merely as a mark of liberty, and became common to all who were freeborn, except that the poor and the immediate descendants of freedmen wore it only of leather. The prætextan robe was used indiscriminately by children of both sexes after they had attained their twelfth year, previous to which they wore a close dress, with sleeves, called the *alicata chlamys*.

The investiture of the *virile robe* was a ceremony of great solemnity, as well as festivity. The friends and relatives of the youth being assembled on the occasion, he was stripped of the prætextan robe, and the golden ball was consecrated to the Lares. He was then clothed in a toga of pure white, without ornament, and conducted by the whole company, followed by the servants and retainers of his

* Addison mentions a bust of a young Nero, with a *bullæ*—the name of the ornament alluded to—that was not shaped like a heart.—*Remarks on Italy*, &c. ed. 1718, p. 251.

† See notes to Busby's Lucretius, b. vi. v. 39.

house and near connexions, to the capitol, where prayers and sacrifices were offered to the gods. Thence he was taken, with the same parade, to the Forum, to make his public entry into the world on that spot where probably the most important scenes of his future life were to be acted ; after which the day was concluded with a feast, to which the dependants of the family were admitted, and presents were distributed among the guests.

During the early period of the republic, young men were not allowed to take the virile robe until the completion of their seventeenth year. But the indulgence of parents afterwards relaxed this rule, and, under the emperors, it was frequently granted to boys of more tender age : Augustus gave it to his grandsons in their fifteenth year, and Nero was only fourteen when he received it from Claudius. Although it was viewed as the distinctive sign of manhood, and those who adopted it were from that time admitted into the society of men, yet they were only considered as entering upon a noviciate, which did not entitle them to the privileges of that rank until more mature experience gave them a better claim to the distinction ; whence they were called *Tyros*,* which was the name applied to the cadets of the army, and to soldiers during their

* "Tyros," *Lat. Tirones.*

first campaign, and is still used by us in a similar, though more general sense.

The color of the common togæ being white, and the stuff woollen, they were necessarily cleansed by fullers; and as that operation required more frequent repetition than was sometimes convenient, they were not always of the most delicate appearance. But those who aspired to employments in the state, made a point of appearing in robes of resplendent whiteness, which superior lustre obtained for them the distinctive appellation of *togæ candidæ*, and for those who wore them, that of *candidati*, which has descended to modern competitors for office.

The *Togæ*—*picta*, *purpurea*, and *palmata*, and the *Trabea*, differed from each other in nothing but their ornaments, and were the robes of state of the kings, consuls, and emperors, and of generals during their triumph. The *toga picta* was so termed from the rich embroidery with which it was covered; the *purpurea*, from the color of its ground-work; and the *palmata*, from its being wrought in figured palm-leaves: the latter was the triumphal habit.

Antiquaries distinguish three kinds of *trabeæ*: that originally worn by the kings, which was white bordered with purple and striped with red, and

which, afterwards, was adopted by the knights at their annual procession to the capitol; that borne by the augurs, which probably differed but little from the former; and that peculiar to the consuls, which was nearly similar to the *prætextan* robe, except that, when the emperors were also consuls, the *trabea* worn by them was adorned with gems. The consular *trabea* was also sometimes denominated the *gabine* robe from a mode of wearing it peculiar to the citizens of *Gabii*, a town of *Campania*, who having gained a victory while thus dressed, the consuls ever afterwards wore it in that fashion on certain solemn occasions: it is described in *Addison's Italian tour*, from representations on some ancient bas reliefs as “a long garment, not unlike a surplice, which would have trailed on the ground had it hung loose, and was therefore gathered about the middle with a girdle.”

The tunic was a close white garment of woollen cloth, worn alone in the house, but abroad, under the *toga*: the lower classes of the people, however, either from motives of economy or convenience, seldom appeared in any other dress. It was common to both sexes, with some very slight variation in the form. The tunic was not worn by the ancient Romans, and when first introduced, it neither covered the arms nor the legs; but in the

decline of the empire, it not only reached to the ancles, but had sleeves coming down to the hands, and it was then considered as indecent to appear without them as it would have been deemed effeminate by their more hardy ancestors to have been seen in them: in that age, therefore, we find, that persons accused of heinous criminal offences appeared on their trial in a tunic without sleeves as a mark of disgrace. It was fastened with a girdle, which also served as a purse, and it was considered a mark of effeminacy and sloth to wear it loosely buckled; hence the word *cinctus*—girt—was used to express diligence and activity, and ungirt was employed in the opposite sense: Virgil calls the Africans “*discincti Afri*,”* as a term of reproach, and Persius applies it to signify dissoluteness.† Under this vest most people wore another of a lighter texture, which served them in lieu of a shirt; but this also was woollen; for it was not until the time of the emperors that linen was introduced. It was first brought from Egypt, and whether from its coarseness, or its rarity, made its way but slowly into public estimation; and so little were its real qualities understood, or appreciated, that, even in the third century, it was

* *Æneis*, lib. vii. l. 724.

† *Sat.* iii. l. 31.

usually interwoven with stripes of purple and gold-thread, by which its softness was entirely destroyed. Besides the plain tunic, there were three distinct denominations of the same vest, severally called, from the difference in their ornaments, the *palmata*, *laticlavica*, and *angusticlavica*. The first was worn along with the toga of the same name, and was termed *palmata* for a similar reason; it was also called the *tunica Jovis*, from the statue of the Capitoline Jupiter being clothed in it; or, as some suppose, from its being kept in the capitol; but the critics are so far from being agreed respecting the decorations of the other two, that we have little more than conjecture to offer regarding them. The most generally received opinion is, that the ornaments of the *laticlave* consisted in some broad stripes of purple, or latterly perhaps of gold, sewn upon the breast; and that those of the *angusticlave* differed only in being narrower. A passage in Varro* favors the opinion, that these stripes were not placed transversely, but merely served as edgings down each side of the tunic, where it was joined in front; but it would appear, from the importance attached to the distinction, that they must have been something more than a

* *De Lat. ling.* viii. 47.—quoted by M. Dacier, in the Remarks on sat. v. lib. 11. of Horace.

mere border ; and, in fact, we have yet to learn in what manner the tunic itself was closed. The laticlave was peculiar to senators and their sons, but the privilege of wearing it was also accorded to some distinguished families of equestrian rank. The augusticlave has been generally considered as the distinctive dress of the knights ; but the correctness of that supposition has been questioned, although there was no other order in the state to which it can be assigned, and the reasons by which the doubt is supported seem entitled to but little weight.

Besides the toga and the tunic, the men, during the latter period of the republic, began to wear different sorts of cloaks, either to defend them from the weather or to add to the splendor of their attire ; and these, in process of time, in a great measure superseded the national dress. They were chiefly distinguished by the various names of the *lacerna*, *pænula*, and *abolla*, and the two former have been sometimes indiscriminately termed *pallia*, probably from some resemblance to the Grecian pallium. The pallium of the Greeks was their national dress, as the toga was that of the Romans ; whence the terms *palliat* and *togatus* are often employed synonymously with Grecian and Roman. We are ignorant of their precise form, but the

lacerna and the *pænula* are supposed to have been a kind of surtout open in the front and fastened with clasps, in the manner of the military *sagum* : * the former was usually of a dark color, and probably of a coarse stuff, and was much in vogue among citizens of the middle class; the latter was more generally worn on journies, and was used with a loose hood to cover the head. The *abolla*, on the contrary, seems to have been at least as much worn for show as for convenience : it was a wide wrapper, sometimes formed of the richest materials and most glowing colors, and was so much the peculiar distinction of the great, that Caligula is said to have put to death the son of Juba, king of Mauritania, and who was even distantly related to him, for having vied with him in the splendor of this cloak.

So early as the reign of Augustus the toga began to fall into disuse : the middle classes either wore it no longer or covered it with a cloak. The emperor was indignant at this innovation, and gave orders that no citizen should be allowed to enter the circus, or the forum, but in a toga alone; but convenience prevailed over his commands, and both the use of the cloak became very general, and its ornaments very splendid. Hadrian, also,

* See chap. vi. p. 83.

endeavoured to enforce the continuance of the toga, and required of the senators and knights that they should never appear abroad without it; he himself setting the example, by constantly wearing it, even at table, although that was contrary to established usage. Notwithstanding these efforts in favor of the ancient costume, few, except the great, and their immediate dependants, retained the use of it after this period; and the caprices of taste and fashion, aided by an extended intercourse with foreign nations, contributed, afterwards, to the introduction of various changes in their dress, which it would be both tedious and uninteresting to describe.

During any period of signal calamity these various habiliments were laid aside by the different classes whom they usually served to distinguish, and it was then customary to change their apparel as a token of humility and contrition. On such occasions all public business was suspended, even the courts of justice were adjourned, and each superior rank appeared in the garb of that in the next inferior degree—magistrates in that of senators, patricians in that of knights, and the equestrian order in that of the commons, while the latter wore their most soiled and threadbare garments, and suffered their beards to grow as in case of private mourning; and when citizens accused of crime,

were summoned to appear before their judges, both they and their relations and clients all appeared in old and squalid robes in order to excite compassion.*

About the third century of the Christian æra fur seems to have been first employed in the dress of the Romans: no mention of it occurs in earlier writers, except indeed that the ancient senators were called "*patrès pelliti*,"† in allusion to their being clothed in skins, and the same custom seems to have been partially continued by the peasantry—

“ Whose vests the shaggy spoils of beasts supplied,
And thorns, inserted, held the folding hide.”

Busby's Lucretius, b. v.

The numerous northern tribes who, about that period, advanced towards the south, were habited in furs, and, as they had then acquired the art of preparing them for use, it is not improbable that their leaders were possessed of dresses of so much beauty as to recommend them to the notice of the

* The above account of public mourning is that given by Ferrarius—(*De Re Vest. lib. i. c. 27.*) and adopted by Kennett. It is corroborated by various passages in other authors, but it also appears that it was only usual on some particular occasions, and that the more common mode, among the superior orders, was to dress in plain black without any ornament.

† Propertius, *Eleg.* iv. 1, 12.

young Romans. For that all those warlike nations of the north which attacked, and in part subdued, the Roman empire, are to be considered as savage hordes totally unacquainted with the usages and conveniencies of civilized life, is an error which, however generally entertained, is contradicted by many historical facts. The accounts given of their arms and accoutrements prove also, that they were themselves not entire strangers to the arts, and that they employed them to ornament their clothing: their fur-dresses may therefore have displayed considerable elegance, and as their scarcity in Italy must have rendered them of sufficient value to be viewed by persons of rank as a luxurious mark of distinction, it will not excite surprise that the Romans, although their climate did not require it, adopted this magnificence. It was, however, prohibited in the year 397 by the emperor Honorius, who forbade Gothic dresses, and especially furs, to be worn either in Rome or within its jurisdiction. Even the Goths themselves were included in this interdiction, and the Gothic servants, who at that time were kept in most families, were to be subjected to corporal punishment if they infringed it. We may, notwithstanding, conclude that it was not readily obeyed, since we find the same edict renewed, with additional seve-

rity, in 399 and 416; and it appears, that the ladies, in particular, were tenacious adherents to the new fashion of furs, which they employed as trimming for their robes.

Among the articles enumerated as foreign innovations in the decree of Honorius, hose, or breeches, is expressly mentioned: this part of dress was, however, not previously unknown to the Romans, as it was common among the Persians, with whom they had intercourse; and Ovid reproaches the people of Tomi, on the Euxine, "that although they wished to be considered of Greek extraction, they yet were not ashamed to wear Persian hose." But although it was not generally adopted until so late a period, persons in delicate health used to wrap their limbs with bandages, which formed some approach to it: it was not, however, for many centuries, worn in the usual modern mode, but was fitted to the shape, and covered the leg in the manner of a tight pantaloen, serving also as stockings, which were then utterly unknown.

The portion of the Roman dress which has been already described, is that which may properly be considered as the national civic habit by which the several orders in the state were distinguished; but, besides the official robes of the priesthood and the

magistracy, and the accoutrements of the military, there yet remain various minor parts which completed their attire, an acquaintance with which is essential to an accurate idea of the entire costume.

We have already seen, that the men usually went bareheaded, or only covered themselves with a lappet of the toga : the latter custom was, however, so general, that various authors mention “ the uncovering of the head ” as a mark of deference paid to superiors, and Plutarch enumerates it among the honors which Sylla offered to Pompey. It is true that we rarely find statues covered in this manner ; but that is, probably, to be attributed to the ungracefulness of the attitude, which the artist would naturally wish to avoid, and to the fact, that, however common it might be, it was an innovation on the ancient and established usage, and was only sanctioned by convenience. The same motive led to the introduction of other coverings for the head, with the precise form of which we are not accurately acquainted : the most usual was a kind of conical cap * which had been peculiar to freed-men, who seem to have been allowed to wear it as a defence from the cold in consequence of their heads being shaved when they were emancipated ; but when the toga was

* The *Pileus*.

laid aside it was very generally worn. On journeys, a cap,* with a more obtuse crown and broad brim, was used, which, if we may judge from that usually represented on statues of the god Mercury, must have borne a near resemblance to the modern hat. Of the materials of which they were formed, our information is too scanty to admit of more than mere conjecture: the pileus, indeed, appears to have been uniformly made of cloth; but various other caps were made with skins, and it seems not improbable that some were composed of felt.

The *mitre*, the *tiara*, and the *diadem*, so frequently mentioned in the Latin authors, were, however, all of foreign origin. The first was attributed to the Trojans, and is mentioned by Virgil as having been worn by the followers of Æneas;† but it was used at Rome only by females, and at length solely by those of lost reputation. It has been described as a high cap, bent forward and tied under the chin; and has been supposed to have become peculiar to the foreign courtezans with whom Rome abounded in the latter ages, and

* The *Petasis*.

† “*Et tunice manicas et habent redimicula MITRÆ!*”—*Æneid. lib. ix. l. 616.*

who seem to have worn it of a yellow color, which is thought to have been also the distinctive head-dress of women of that description in Greece.*

The tiara was a cap of state appropriate to the eastern kings and princes, and does not appear to have been adopted in Rome until after the establishment of the pontifical government.

The diadem was the distinctive decoration of the Roman kings, as well as of some foreign princes, and consisted of a white scarf—*fascia*—rolled round the head in the manner of the modern Turkish turban. It is probable that it generally encircled some ornament in the form of that which we are accustomed to consider as the crown; but

* A note to Gifford's translation of a passage in Juvenal, *sat. vi. ver. 102.* quotes a fragment of Menander as authority for the existence of the above custom, in Greece: it escaped the research of the learned Dr. Potter; who, indeed, tells us that women of abandoned character were distinguished from other females by their apparel, but expressly says, that, "what that habit was is not certain." (*Ant. vol. ii. ch. 12.*)

The prevalence of the fashion, as stated, in Rome, seems to be further corroborated by the following line in Juvenal—

"*Ite, quibus grata est picta lupa barbara mitra!*"

"Go ye, that can; admire the foreign face,
The gaudy mitre and the lewd embrace."

Owen, *sat. iii. v. 67.*

that the fascia alone constituted what was then deemed the peculiar attribute of royalty, is evident from a passage in Plutarch, in which it is stated, "that a princess hanged herself in her diadem."* These white *fasciæ*, indeed, were so much looked upon as marks of sovereignty, that when Pompey appeared abroad with a scarf of that color bound on his leg, under pretence of some hurt, they who dreaded his ambition did not fail to attribute it to his aspiration of the supreme command; and he was told, "that it was of little importance on what part he wore "the diadem," as his intention in displaying it was equally evident."† The crowns were ornaments conferred as rewards, for military services:‡ they were merely indicative of merit, and not of authority, and had nothing in common with the diadem.

Various coverings were worn on the feet; but those in most general use were the buskin, and the sandal. The first, although common to all classes, was chiefly worn by persons of condition; the plebeian citizens usually contenting themselves with a kind of loose slipper, supposed to be that we read of under the name of *crepis*, and the pea-

* Plut. *in vit. Lucull.*

† Valerius Maximus, *lib. vi. c. 2.*

‡ See Chap. vi.

santry with a coarse boot rudely formed of raw hides.

The buskins reached about halfway up the leg, to which they were closely laced in front, the shoe terminating in a point which bent upwards. Those of men of patrician rank were distinguished by an ornament, of ivory or silver, in the shape of a crescent, which decoration was originally meant to represent the numeral letter C, in allusion to the hundred members of whom the senate was then composed. The general name of the buskin was *calceus*, but those of senators were called, in allusion to the form of this ornament, *calcei lunati*. The buskins of senators differed, in some minute particulars of form, from those of other persons, and were always black, while red was the color adopted by those who had borne any curule office. These were, at first, worn only by the kings, and were afterwards exclusively appropriated to the emperors, who added to them the figure of an eagle embroidered on the front. It was by this ornament that the body of the emperor Constantine Palæologus was discovered among the slain after the storming of Constantinople by the Turks. The buskins were not unfrequently made of silk; but amongst the most costly materials of which they were formed, was Persian and Babylonian dyed

leather, similar to that we now call Morocco, which was then equally rare and valuable: they were besides, ornamented with gold and silver, and sometimes even with precious stones. Cork soles and high heels were general: the priests always wore them: on the stage also, and in public ceremonies, when any extraordinary degree of dignity was assumed, they were commonly used; and even Augustus condescended to add by these means to his stature. The sandal was more worn by females than by men, and it was considered somewhat effeminate for the latter to be seen abroad in them; but in the house and on all festive occasions this etiquette was not observed. It consisted merely in a sole without any upper covering for the foot, to which it was fastened by straps and buckles; but in these considerable elegance was displayed, and taste was at least as much consulted in their arrangement as convenience.

It has been doubted whether the Romans wore gloves; they are, however, alluded to by various ancient authors, and the younger Pliny expressly mentions them, although it is probable that they were only used by invalids.* But there is one appendage to modern dress, so indispensable to deli-

* Plin. *Epist.* l. iii. ep. 5.

cacy, that it is difficult to conceive how it could have been overlooked; and yet it no where appears that they were acquainted with the use of the pocket-handkerchief. Some men of distinction, indeed, but chiefly barristers, wore, pendent from the neck, a long slip of linen called a *Sudarium*; but this was only used, as its name implied, to wipe perspiration from the face, and could not, from the situation in which it was worn, have been employed for any less delicate purpose.

A plain ring, of iron or gold according to their rank, was, during a long period, the only ornament worn by the men: the former belonged to the Plebeians. The golden ring was, originally, an honorary distinction peculiar to knights and senators; but, in time, it became common to all Roman citizens, and was even conferred by some of the emperors on their freed-men. The ring was worn on the third finger of the left hand, and it became usual to mount it with an engraved stone,* which

* The art of engraving on fine stones is one of very high antiquity. Lapidaries are mentioned in the Old Testament, as exercising it in Egypt previous to the flight of the Israelites — *Exodus*, ch. xxviii. v. 9, 11.—and signets are mentioned as in use at the same time.

M. de la Condamine mentions his having seen a cornelian in the cabinet of Baron Stoch, at Florence, that was sup-

served at once as seal and signature : it was in this manner affixed to their public acts, and their letters were merely sealed with it without being signed. The custom was of the remotest antiquity : Cicero mentions it as still existing in his time ; and the method of signing the name was not introduced until the accession of the emperors. The engravings on these rings consisted of various figures, and emblematical devices : Mæcenas, had a frog ; Augustus, a sphynx ; and Otho, a dog on the prow of a ship. But these were not what we term armorial bearings ; which were unknown to the Romans—unless, indeed, the national eagle might be so considered—and do not appear to have become hereditary in families until after the first crusade.

Once the fashion of wearing rings had been generally introduced, it was carried, like most others at Rome, to an absurd extreme : they were worn on all the fingers, which were rather loaded than ornamented with them, and they were changed according to the season—those for the winter being heavy and splendid, and for the summer, light

posed to be as old as the time ascribed to the Trojan war ; and which contained, on a surface not larger than a common seal, the figures of the seven heroes of the Theban war, with their names in Greek. See *Mem. de l'Acad. Paris*, 1757.

and less costly. The custom of wearing ear-rings which had been previously confined to females, and to slaves, was also introduced by Julius Cæsar, and continued to be general among young men of family, until the time of Alexander Severus, who, himself adhering closely to a manly simplicity of dress, abolished this effeminate foppery.

During the early ages of the commonwealth the Romans allowed their hair and beards to grow, merely clipping them occasionally as necessity required. The custom of shaving was not introduced until the middle of the fifth century, when, as we are told by Livy,* barbers were first brought from Sicily. After that period, it became fashionable to wear the hair short, curled, and perfumed with the greatest care, and the beard close shaved, until the time of Hadrian, who, to hide some excrescences on his chin, revived the habit of wearing the beard; but it was dropped soon afterwards, and was never resorted to except in time of mourning. Nicety in this point, however, was never much studied, for it appears that the beard was as often clipped as shaved; except, indeed, that some used to eradicate it entirely, either with pincers, pumice-

* Tit. Liv. l. v. c. 41.

stone, or an ointment mentioned by Martial,* which seems to have been singularly efficacious as a depilatory, and in proportionate request among the fops of his day. It was also not unusual, although considered effeminate, to root out the hair from other parts of the body; and notwithstanding there was no lack of barbers at Rome, this seems to have been the peculiar occupation of women.

It is well known that the ancient philosophers allowed their beards to grow; less, at first, through affectation than indifference; but in time, they preserved them as a mark of gravity and wisdom, and a long beard became so essential an appendage to philosophic dignity, that Lucian mentions one of them, who, being a candidate for a professor's chair, was considered incompetent to fill it on account of the scantiness of the honors of his chin.

Baldness was looked upon as a deformity, and, to conceal it, wigs were invented about the time of the first emperors. We are told, that Otho had a kind of scalp of fine leather, with locks of hair upon it so well arranged as to appear natural; yet Domitian, who reigned some years after him, did not find means to hide his want of hair, though so

* "MARTIAL,"—iii. *ep.* 74. vi. *ep.* 93. x. *ep.* 65.

mortified by it that he could not bear to hear the subject of baldness mentioned. The chevalier Folard asserts—in his notes on Polybius,—* that wigs were in use before the time of Hannibal; and he cites a passage, from that author, not only to prove that Hannibal wore one himself, but to infer, from the manner in which the fact is related, that it was not then considered a novelty. However that may be, it is certain, that the custom was not introduced into Rome until the period already mentioned. It is, indeed, apparent, that it was unknown in the time of Julius Cæsar; for it is well understood, that he valued his crown of laurels more as a covering for his baldness, than for the honor it conferred; and it may fairly be presumed, that, if wigs had been generally worn, he would not have neglected so easy a method of concealing it.

Besides that attention which fashion and personal delicacy exacted for the hair, it was anciently the object of many opposite customs and superstitions: thus the Greeks,† when in grief, cut their hair short and shaved their beards, while the Jews considered it ignominious to lose the beard,‡

* B. iii. ch. 16.

† See Potter's *Antiquities*, vol. ii. ch. 5. ed. 1820.

‡ Old Test. 2 Samuel, ch. x. v. 4 and 5.

and the Catti,* a nation of Germany, on the contrary, would not allow a young man to shave until he had slain an enemy. Among the Romans the custom, in mourning, was to allow the hair and beard to grow; and this was also adopted by persons labouring under any criminal accusation; but those who had escaped from shipwreck shaved their heads; and slaves, who during servitude were not allowed to cut their hair short, were shaved on being enfranchised. Both sexes allowed their hair to grow, in youth, in honor of some divinity which was the peculiar object of their worship, and when young men attained the age of puberty it was cut, and, with the first growth of the beard, was consecrated to the god. Even in the last scene of closing life it was supposed that the spirit could not quit its mortal abode until Proserpine, either in person or through the ministration of the "weird sisters" who wove the thread of existence, had cut off a hair from the head as an offering to Pluto: thus in the description of the death of Dido, the wretched queen is represented as struggling with life, because, having inflicted the mortal wound upon herself, the goddess would not sever the fatal hair, until—

"——Juno, grieving that she should sustain
A death so lingering, and so full of pain,

* Tacitus, *de Moribus Germanorum*, 31.

Sent Iris down to free her from the strife
Of labouring nature, and dissolve her life:
For, since she died, not doom'd by Heaven's decree,
Or her own crime, but human casualty,
And rage of love, that plung'd her in despair,
The sisters had not cut the topmost hair,
Which Proserpine and they can only know;
Nor made her sacred to the shades below.
Downward the various goddess took her flight,
And drew a thousand colours from the light;
Then stood above the dying lover's head,
And said, "I thus devote thee to the dead.
This offering to the infernal gods I bear"—
Thus while she spoke, she cut the fatal hair:
The struggling soul was loos'd, and life dissolved in air." }

Dryden's Virg. En. b. iv.

CHAP. XXIII.

ON FEMALE DRESS.

Ancient Style, and progressive Change—Attendants—The Dressing-room—Mirrors—Head-dresses—Powder—Cosmetics—Arts of the Toilet—The Tunic—The Stola—Corsets—Mantles—Materials of Dress—Silk—Muslin—Shoes and Buskins—Jewelry—Fans.

WHILE the Romans were confined to a frugal and laborious life, it may naturally be supposed that their wives partook of their cares, and were restrained to great simplicity of dress and manners. Even at a later period, ladies of the first distinction were occupied in household duties, and the superintendence of their slaves and families; nor was the celebrated Cornelia—the daughter of the great Scipio, and the mother of the Gracchi—who, when asked to show her jewels, presented her children, a singular instance of the domestic affections triumphing over the love of parade and dress. But when the men resigned the dignified plainness of their ancient manners for the foreign innovations of foppery and effeminate refinement,

it may also be imagined, that the women were not slow in following their example.

The Roman ladies usually bathed at an earlier hour than the men. Like them, they generally made use of the public thermæ, and even occasionally practised some of the athletic exercises to which such places were adapted; but they were attended, on those occasions, by their own servants, and, as the baths afforded the convenience of private apartments, they sometimes made use of them for all the purposes of the toilet. This, indeed, would appear to be contradicted by a passage in the celebrated sixth satire of Juvenal, in which a lady is accused of keeping her company waiting supper while she was at the bath, and even of being assisted by the common male attendant of the thermæ; but a satirist may be expected to exaggerate, and the point in question contains a picture too highly, and too coarsely colored, to be admitted as a correct representation of the manners of the age.

Ladies of distinction had numerous female attendants, to each of whom a separate department was assigned: thus, one was the hair-dresser, another had the care of the wardrobe, a third of the perfumes and paint, while a fourth adjusted the robes; and, instead of the indiscriminate appella-

tion of waiting-maid, they were each distinguished by the name of their employment. There was, also, a superior order, who formed the privy council of the dressing-room, and whose only duty was, to assist at the deliberations on the important business of decoration, and to decide on the contending claims of rival fashions. This cabinet was composed of the female parasites who attached themselves to women of rank; and, if we may credit the poets, their office was far from being a sinecure. Juvenal, very ungallantly, accuses the ladies of his day of occasional fits of spleen, which, he says, they sometimes vented on their attendants; and even more than hints, that these little petulancies were, in some instances, provoked by the apprehension of being too late to attend the temple of Isis—a convenient goddess who presided over the mysteries of the rendezvous—or by embarrassments thrown in their way by the surly jealousy of ill-bred husbands; and his translators have rather heightened than softened the colors of the scene depicted by the Roman poet.* But whatever truth there may have been in the original picture, should, in candor, be attributed to the prevalence of slavery, which, by presenting human

* See the sixth Satire of Juvenal.

nature in a state of moral debasement, and affording constant opportunities for the exercise of uncontrolled dominion, must have insensibly led to impatience of contradiction, and irritability of temper.

There is no account, in any of the ancient authors, of the interior arrangements of the ladies' dressing-rooms. Nor, however minute the descriptions which have been recorded of the separate parts of their customary apparel, is it possible to follow them through all the revolutions of fashion, or to form more than a general idea of their united appearance. The same desire to please which actuates the modern belle, no doubt influenced the Roman beauty; for time and place make no other difference in a passion that has ever been the same, than in the manner of its display. We may therefore conclude, that the mysteries of the toilet, in all their refinement, were not unknown in ancient Rome; and, indeed, some details which have been preserved, seem to prove, that if they were not as well understood, they were at least as sedulously attended to, then, as now.

The dressing-table appears to have been provided with all its usual appendages, except that useful little modern instrument—the pin. But its inseparable ornament, the mirror, did not possess

the advantage of being formed of glass, in lieu of which plates of polished metal were substituted. That looking-glasses were wholly unknown, has indeed been doubted, on the authority of an ancient author,* who certainly alludes to their having been made in Egypt. But, although various articles of glass are enumerated among costly pieces of Roman furniture, mirrors are only mentioned among plate; and no distinct account of the modern invention occurs until the thirteenth century. Those anciently in use, are supposed to have been generally of pure silver, although they are known to have been also composed of mixed metal; they were kept in cases to preserve their polish, and were often sufficiently large to reflect the entire figure.

The ornaments for the head were confined to the arrangement and decoration of the hair, and varied, in minute particulars, as caprice or fashion dictated. The combs were of ivory, or box, and sometimes of metal; and a heated wire was used, round which the hair was curled into the required form. The most usual was to plait, and roll it as a bandeau round the head, on the crown of which

* *Plin. Hist. Nat.* l. xxxvi. c. 26. See also, *Caylus, Recueil d'Antiquités*—and *Beckmann's Hist. of Inventions*, art *Mirrors*.

it was fastened in a knot; and it became fashionable to raise these tresses so high, that they were heaped upon each other until they were reared into a kind of edifice of many stages, where—

“ With curls on curls, like diff’rent stories rise
The towering locks, a structure to the skies.”

Owen’s Juvenal, sat. vi.

False hair was then had recourse to, which at length assumed the form of a wig, and, at one time, it was the mode to dress it in imitation of a military casque. The curls were confined with small chains, or rings, of gold, and bodkins studded with precious stones, and surmounted at one end with some carved ornamental figure. Fillets of purple, or white riband, ornamented with pearls, were also worn on the head, and splendid jewels in the ears. Some decorations were considered peculiarly indicative of female decorum: such was a plain broad riband with which some matrons tressed their hair, and others appertained exclusively to particular families; but it is probable that these distinctions were soon lost, or confounded in the maze of fashion. During the early part of the commonwealth, ladies never appeared abroad without a veil; but it was gradually laid aside as the reserve of their manners declined, and

was eventually only used for mere ornament, or convenience. Flowers were only worn at supper parties, or during public festivals, but the chaplets were then wreathed with peculiar care, and the Egyptian florists, to whom this branch of decoration was chiefly committed, were adepts in the art of arranging them, both artificially and from the stores of nature. Bouquets were also worn, either on the breast or in collars round the neck, and, as a mystic signification was attached to particular plants, their composition was often employed to convey the secret intelligence of lovers.

The hair appears to have been occasionally confined behind with a net or caul; but the term sometimes used to denote it, (*vesica*) seems to leave it doubtful whether it may be considered as an ornament, or only, according to the strict interpretation of the word, as a bladder for the purpose of preserving it. Of the latter opinion is the learned Beckmann; but he founds it solely on some lines in an epigram of Martial,* which do not altogether warrant the inference, while opposed to it are a passage in Juvenal,† which clearly alludes to

* “Fortior et tortos servat vesica capillos,

Et mutat Latias spuma Batava Comas.” *Lib. viii. 23. 19.*

† “Reticulumque comis duratum ingentibus implet.”

Sat. ii. ver. 82.

a net as a decoration, and the fact, also, that a similar custom is still prevalent in some parts of Italy and Spain.

The “*Spuma Batava*,”—the “Batavian Froth,”—mentioned by Martial,—was employed to cleanse, and perhaps also to colour the hair; for the Germans themselves are said to have dyed their own red with it, and the same poet recommends a peculiar sort as a preventive of grayness. Auburn and flaxen hair were, indeed, in such high estimation among the Romans—whose own locks were commonly “raven-black,”—that various means were employed to give it that appearance, and the utmost care seems to have been used to improve its natural lustre by the application of scented unguents, and, sometimes, it was even powdered with gold dust to render it still more resplendent. This latter mode came from Asia: Josephus says, that it was practised by the Jews: some of the emperors adopted it; and the hair of Commodus is said to have become so fair and bright by its constant use, that, when the sun shone upon it, his head appeared as if on fire. But the powder used by the moderns was unknown to the ancients: their authors do not mention it; and the reverend fathers of the church make no allusion to it amongst all the means which they re-

proach the women with having adopted to heighten their charms ; neither do the old romances, which yet give such minute details respecting dress ; nor is it seen in any of the antique portraits, although the painters of those days usually copied the dress and ornaments as actually worn.

If the hair exacted such attention, it may be presumed that the face was not neglected ; and, indeed, we read of almost as many cosmetics as fill the columns of a modern newspaper. To enumerate them all, would be as endless, as it probably would be but little instructive to the very able professors in the mysterious and important arts of personal embellishment of which the present age can boast ; but one precious receipt from the pen of the bard who sung “ the Art of Love,” cannot, it is presumed, be, even now, wholly uninteresting to the accomplished votaress of the toilet who may deign to honor these pages with a perusal :—

“ Vetches, and beaten barley let them take,
And with the whites of eggs a mixture make ;
Then dry the precious paste with sun and wind,
And into powder very gently grind.
Get hart's-horn next, but let it be the first
That creature sheds, and beat it well to dust ;
Six pounds in all ; then mix, and sift them well,
And think the while how fond Narcissus fell :

Six roots to you that pensive flow'r must yield,
To mingle with the rest, well bruis'd, and cleanly peel'd.
Two ounces next of gum, and thural seed,
And let a double share of honey last succeed.—
With this, whatever damsel paints her face,
Will brighter than her glass see every grace.'

OVID: *Art of Beauty*—Anon.

Pliny speaks of a wild vine, with very thick leaves of a pale green, the seeds of the grape of which were red, and, being bruised with the leaves, were used to refresh the complexion. "Fabula," says Martial, "feared the rain on account of the chalk upon her face, and Sabella, the sun, because of the ceruse with which she was painted;" and Plautus alludes to the use of rouge. Many ladies used to wash themselves in asses milk; and the celebrated Poppæa, the wife of Nero, bathed daily in it. This lady, we are told, invented an unctuous paste which was in universal esteem as a softener of the skin: it was spread over the face as a mask, and was very generally and constantly worn in the house; thus creating a kind of domestic countenance for the husband, while that underneath was carefully preserved for the more favored admirer, or the public.

Whether the cosmetic art had then reached the

perfection which it has since attained, cannot now be determined. It is probable that the large acquisition of exotic plants with which the ardor for botanical pursuits has enriched our gardens, and the knowledge of the art of distillation, which was but imperfectly known to the ancients, have given the moderns the advantage in perfumes; but in no other branch of this important science do they appear to have been deficient.

The ladies were extremely careful of their teeth: they used small brushes, and toothpicks: the latter sometimes of silver; but those most esteemed were made of the wood of the mastich tree. Of what, besides water, they employed to cleanse them, we only know, that there was a favourite lotion, which they received from Spain, the chief ingredient in which was a liquid that undoubtedly would not recommend it to modern notice. False teeth are mentioned by both Horace and Martial, as being common in their time.

Art had not, indeed, then arrived at the perfection of supplying the absolute deficiency of an eye; but means were not wanting to encrease their lustre, and to make those which were small, or sunk, appear larger and more prominent than they really were. This was effected by burning

the powder of antimony, the vapour of which being allowed to ascend to the eyes, had the effect of distending the eyelids; or the powder, and sometimes, indeed, common soot, was gently spread with a bodkin underneath the lid, and the tint which it imparted was supposed to give an expression of liquid softness to the eye. The custom is supposed to be alluded to in the Scriptures, where Jezebel is represented addressing Jehu: * it prevailed in the remotest ages in the east, whence it was received into Greece, and from thence found its way to Rome. Pencilling the eye-brows was also a constant practice; nor was there any ignorance of the effect produced by a skilfully disposed patch, or of any other of the numerous arcana by which the charms of the person are heightened and displayed. It has, indeed, been doubted whether the Roman ladies did actually employ the “artillery of patches;” but not only are they repeatedly mentioned in Martial’s Epigrams, but the younger Pliny tells us, that even a grave lawyer had recourse to their aid, and that, according as he was to plead for plaintiff or defendant, he used to wear a white, or a black patch,

* 2 *Kings*, ch. ix. v. 30. The words used in the Bible are —“She painted her face;” but the more correct translation is—“She put her eyes in paint.”

over the right or the left eye! * Ovid, whose authority on such subjects can no more be questioned than his tenderness towards the sex can be suspected, says, that—

“ Women, with juice of herbs grey locks disguise,
And art gives colour which with nature vies :
The well-wove tours they wear their own are thought,
But only are their own as what they’ve bought.
They know the use of white to make them fair,
And how with red lost colour to repair ;
Imperfect eye-brows they by art can mend,
And skin when wanting o’er a scar extend.
Nor need the fair one be asham’d, who tries,
By art, to add new lustre to her eyes.”

Congreve : *Art of Love*, b. ii.

It has been already observed, that the tunic, as well as the toga, was common to both sexes, with the exception of a slight difference in the shape of the former. In the early ages, women wore the tunic so high about the throat, and it descended so low, that the figure of the wearer was entirely concealed, and to expose it would have been considered a departure from feminine reserve and delicacy. But it gradually became customary to display more and more of the neck, until the tunic was worn in such manner that the left sleeve

* Plin. *Epist.* l. vi. *ep.* 2.

only was fastened over the shoulder, while the right fell negligently down upon the arm; and some merely closed the front of the sleeves with clasps, instead of seams, so that the arms were barely covered, but not concealed. This robe was confined round the waist with a broad embroidered girdle, and it was considered graceful to slightly raise the right side of it when walking. At first, one tunic only was worn; but the example of the men introduced the fashion of wearing three; the under one as a chemise, the next as a short frock, and the upper in the manner already described. The latter acquired, in the course of time, so many folds, and such various ornaments, that it at length entirely superseded the toga, which was afterwards worn only by women of profligate manners, and it became the chief female habiliment under the new title of the *stola*. It then received a train, with a deep border of gold and purple tissue, and was closed in front from the girdle downwards; the upper part being left open to display the second tunic, over which young persons wore ribands crossed upon the breast to support the bosom. These gradually assumed the form of the *corset*, and of all the apparel of a Roman lady it became the most brilliant: it was resplendent with gold, pearls, and

precious stones; and even females of inferior rank, who could not command those ornaments, yet wore a stomacher of coarse embroidery; which part of the ancient female costume, and a very close imitation of the stola also, are yet in use among the peasantry in the vicinity of Rome. This was the dress usually worn in the house; but, on occasions of ceremony, or when ladies appeared abroad, they added the *palla*—a mantle, or ample shawl, which was attached merely to one shoulder with a clasp, and, falling thence in large folds, was either supported by the hand, or wrapped round the body as grace or convenience dictated. It was generally worn with an inclination to the left shoulder, in order to give more liberty, and perhaps more grace, to the right arm; and women of rank sometimes wore it with a long train, which was borne by a page.

Of the materials of which the clothes of females were composed, we have but little satisfactory information. For a long period they were entirely formed of woollen cloth, and appear to have differed in no respect from those of the men; but towards the close of the Republic, when silk had been obtained from the east, it was manufactured with a mixture of wool into a light transparent stuff, which was usually worn by ladies of the

middle order of society. Robes of pure silk were so rare even during the reign of many of the emperors, that Aurelian is said to have refused a mantle of that material to the empress, in consequence of its extravagant price, and it was always so exorbitantly dear as to have been used only by women of the highest rank. Ancient writers mention two kinds of stuff—the *bombycina* and the *serica*—both of which were received from India; and modern commentators have generally either confounded them, or been at little pains to ascertain the distinction which existed between them. The former was undoubtedly silk; and a late translator of Juvenal* hazards the opinion that what were termed “*sericæ vestes*” were fine cottons imported into Europe through the country of the Seres—which he considers as the modern Bochara—while another very learned authority views the *serica* as also silk, the product of China.† Which-ever of these conjectures may be correct, there can be but little doubt that the Roman ladies were provided with muslins; ‡ and it is not improbable

* Gifford, notes to the translation of Juvenal, *sat.* ii. *ver.* 99.

† Vincent’s *Periplus of the Erythræan Sea. Dissert. on the Seres.* Part ii. diss. 1.

‡ See chap. ix.

that the transparent dresses, often alluded to by the later authors of antiquity,² with which they used to cover those beauties which¹ they still wished to be visible, were formed of that still fashionable stuff, which so excited the spleen of an ancient moralist, that he indignantly exclaims—

“ A woven wind should married women wear,
And naked in a linen cloud appear ! ”

It is difficult to speak with accuracy of the mode in which the robes of ladies and distinguished personages were ornamented. We read, in the most ancient classic authors, of what has usually been considered as embroidery; but, in the early ages, this, perhaps, must rather be understood as slips of beaten gold sewn on them, as spangles now are, or only affixed to them with paste; and, even at the latest period of the empire, the gold-thread of which embroidery was composed was formed of solid metal, whereas, at present, that name is applied to silk wound round with silver-wire flattened and gilt. But the Romans were unacquainted with the art of wire-drawing, and, as silver was not sufficiently malleable to be made into thread by the mere operation of the hammer, we find no mention of silver tissue in any of their writers, nor is it supposed to have been used until the time of

the Greek emperors. The more ductile quality of gold, however, enabled them to beat it into threads of such fineness, that it was not only worked on cloth with the needle, but interwoven with it in the loom, and we even read of some stuff that was entirely manufactured of it. Tassels of this metal have been found among the ruins of Herculaneum, the threads of which were of bullion; and such was the weight of the embroidery composed of it, that, when the grave in which the wife of the emperor Honorius had been interred was discovered at Rome, in the year 1544, thirty-six pounds of pure gold were procured from the mouldered remains of the mantle which enveloped the body.

Some commentators have attributed to the Romans a knowledge of that elegant production of modern industry—point, or thread-lace. But those who ascribe works of this kind to the ancients, found their opinion on the obscure expression “*opus phrygianum*,” which sometimes occurs in the description of ornamented dress; and this “phrygian work” would rather appear to have consisted in the embroidery with which their robes were often bordered.

White was the only colour originally worn; it was also considered, for a long time, as more elegant than any other except purple, by which

the dignitaries of the state were distinguished. But fashion afterwards introduced a greater variety, and the ladies, being no longer bound by any rule except its capricious dictates, seem to have indulged their taste in all the tints of the rainbow; although the different shades of purple appear to have been always held in superior estimation.

Notwithstanding this inconstancy in the colour of the robes, that of the shoes and buskins remained, during a considerable period, uniformly white: it was not until the reign of Aurelian that women began to wear them of red; for which that emperor not only gave them a special permission, but at the same time deprived the men of that privilege, which he reserved to the ladies and himself. His successors followed his example, and it has been continued even to the present day, for it was from the emperors of the west that the popes received the custom, by which they are still distinguished, of wearing red shoes. Women also wore slippers and socks; but the latter were merely ribands bound over the feet; the colour was usually red, and they appeared through the opening of the buskin, which was itself laced with a garter crossed several times upon the leg.

The taste for jewelry was displayed in bracelets, necklaces, and every kind of female ornament.

Indeed, the use of jewels was so general, that Pliny says, it would have been considered derogatory to a female of rank to have appeared without them; and he estimates those worn in full dress by Lollia Paulina—the repudiated wife of Caligula—and belonging to her in her own right, as inherited from her family, without including either state-jewels or presents from the prince, at a sum which has been considered equivalent to more than *three hundred thousand pounds of our money*.*

Notwithstanding this prodigality of expense, the Romans do not appear to have been acquainted with the art that gives value to our most precious gem: they, indeed, possessed diamonds, but were ignorant of the means of rendering them brilliant, notwithstanding that they employed diamond-dust to polish various other stones. They placed an extraordinary value on amber, which their distance from the coasts of the Baltic sea, where it is chiefly found, and their slight intercourse with a country then in a state of barbarism, rendered

* Although the jewels of Lollia Paulina have been estimated, by a very learned author, at the exact sum of 322,916*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* yet the text of Pliny, on which the calculation is founded, is, by many, considered to admit of a construction which would reduce the valuation to one tenth of that sum. See *Arbuthnot on Ancient Coins*.

extremely rare. But the pearl was the most costly jewel, and, besides its own intrinsic beauty and great rarity, its value was enhanced by the difficulty of imitating it; for, although they were adepts in the art of counterfeiting most precious stones, yet to that of making pearl beads, which is now carried to such perfection, they had not attained. Of the excellence of their workmanship, comparatively with that of the moderns, we have but scanty means of forming an accurate opinion; but, from some specimens of ancient jewelry preserved in collections of antiquities, we should conclude, that the Romans had acquired considerable proficiency in the various branches of the lapidary's art.

In a climate so warm as that of Italy, it may be presumed that the fan was a customary appendage to female dress; but although there appears some reason to suppose that it was occasionally made in the modern manner, yet that in ordinary use was formed of the feathers of the peacock, or of some other gaudy plumage, and was either suspended from the girdle, or borne by an attendant slave. Balls of cristal, or of amber, were also sometimes carried in the hands, in consequence of their frigorific quality; and an extraordinary custom prevailed in the use of a harmless species of small

serpent, which, being tamed, was carried in the bosom of its fair mistress, to which it was supposed to impart a refreshing coolness.

Ladies of fashion also amused themselves with the common pets of the present day—parrots, monkeys, and lap-dogs, and it is not a little remarkable that the Island of Malta, from which the most admired species of the latter favorite was then procured, is still celebrated for a peculiar breed of the same animal.

CHAP. XXIV.

ON MARRIAGE CEREMONIES.

Laws to restrain Celibacy—Papian Law—Marriage—The Contract—The Wedding Ring—The Dowry—Different forms of Marriage—Fortunate Days—The Bridal Dress—Nuptial Rites—The Epithalamium—The Bed-chamber.

So attentive were the Romans to the important object of population, that they not only rewarded those who married, but decreed penalties against men who remained in a state of celibacy; and sterility was not alone a sufficient ground for divorce, but they whose wives were in that situation were, at one period, enjoined to repudiate them. Fines were first levied on unmarried men about the year of Rome 350; and when pecuniary forfeitures failed to ensure their obedience to these connubial edicts, their contumacious neglect of the fair sex was punished by degradation from their tribe.

Celibacy continued, notwithstanding, to gain ground in Rome; and to counteract its effects, we find that, in the year 518 from the foundation of the city, the censors had recourse to the extraordinary measure of obliging all the young unmar-

ried men to pledge themselves by an oath to marry within a certain time.

Cæsar enacted various laws in order to repair the loss to population occasioned by the civil wars; and Augustus, following his example, augmented the penalties on bachelors, while he bestowed rewards on those who had a numerous offspring born in wedlock. The ancient laws prohibited marriage between Patricians and Plebeians, and although that restriction had been long abolished, yet, when a Patrician lady united herself to a Plebeian, she was excluded from the sacred rites of females of her own rank. But, in order to facilitate marriages, he permitted all male citizens, except senators, their sons and grandsons, to espouse the daughters of freedmen, without such alliance being considered a degradation, in which light it had been previously viewed. And, as many persons evaded the penalties imposed on celibacy, by marrying children under the nubile age, he decreed, that no girl should be betrothed until she had completed her tenth year; and, that the marriage should be consummated within two years afterwards.

Augustus found considerable difficulty in enforcing these laws, which were opposed by the prevalent taste for libertinism, and the general

licence of the times, and it was only by dint of perseverance, and great firmness, that he succeeded. At the celebration of some public games, at which he happened to be present, the knights loudly demanded their abrogation; but the emperor, instead of complying, sent for the children of Germanicus, who were already numerous, although that prince was then only twenty-four years old, and, holding them up to their view, desired them to follow the example of that illustrious personage. He afterwards commanded the whole order of knights to appear before him in two divisions; the one to consist of the married, the other of the unmarried; and, finding the latter by far the most numerous, he took occasion to praise those who in honorable wedlock raised up citizens for the state. He then vehemently reprehended the bachelors; and far from annulling, or even mitigating the penalties to which they were previously subject, he added some still more rigorous, by a law well known in the Roman code of Jurisprudence, under the title of *Papia Poppæa*, from the consuls Papius and Poppæus, who were charged with its execution, and the somewhat laughable circumstance, that these persons were themselves both unmarried.

Tacitus says, that the object of the Papian law was both to punish celibacy, and to enrich the public treasury by the confiscation of collateral successions and legacies ; of the benefit of which it deprived unmarried men of the nubile age, unless they contracted a marriage within one hundred days from the decease of the testator.* But it gave numerous advantages to fathers of families : they obtained the preference in all public employments ; if they had not attained the age required by law, so many years of that period were dispensed with as they had children ; distinguished places were assigned to them in the public theatres ; they had precedence of their unmarried colleagues ; and they were exonerated from the discharge of several burdensome public offices. It was an immunity held in much respect, and was sometimes granted by the emperors, as a special favor, to persons who were without children ; but the emperor Constantine, considering it as, in some respects, contrary to the gospel, modified it in several points, and abolished the penalties imposed on celibacy.

Although the law which prohibited marriage between Patricians and Plebeians, had been repealed within five years of its enactment, as being

* Tacitus, *Ann.* l. iii. c. 25.

contrary to the spirit of republican institutions, yet with foreigners, of whatever condition, it was strictly forbidden. Not only did the national pride of the Romans cause them to look with contempt on the inhabitants of other countries—whom they invariably termed barbarians—but the policy of the government tended to preserve the population of the Roman territory as distinct as possible from that of the surrounding nations; and it was besides feared, that such alliances might have consequences prejudicial to the state. Roman citizens were, therefore, required to intermarry among each other, or with the natives of those places which had acquired the burgess-right at Rome, or that of the “*Jus Connubii*,”—the privilege of contracting marriage with the Romans. A man who espoused any other stranger, was looked upon as degraded; and his children were not only considered illegitimate, but, as a mark of still further debasement, they were called *Ibridæ*—the name applied to animals of a mongrel species. Their condition was, in fact, but little superior to that of slaves, until Caracalla granted the right of naturalization to all the countries, indiscriminately, which composed the Roman empire; when this stain was, in consequence, obliterated.

The nearest degree of consanguinity in which

marriage was legal, subsequent to the reign of Nerva, was that of first cousin : it had been previously permitted, and was frequently contracted, between uncle and niece ; but it was not valid, even within the permitted degrees of propinquity, unless the parties had attained the legal age, and had obtained the consent of parents. Boys were considered nubile at fourteen ; girls, at twelve. Sons, who had been emancipated by their father, were not subjected to the restraint of obtaining permission ; but daughters, although affranchised, were not released from that control. In order to prevent a too great disparity of years, women under fifty were not allowed to marry sexagenarians, nor men under sixty with women of fifty.

The parties were affianced some time before the celebration of the actual marriage. This was accompanied with many ceremonies, at which the priests and augurs assisted : the marriage contract was drawn up in the presence of witnesses, and confirmed by the betrothed pair breaking a straw between them ; the bridegroom then presented his bride with the wedding ring ; presents were made to the young couple by their immediate friends who were present on the occasion ; and the father, or nearest relative of the bride—at whose house

the ceremony usually took place—gave a grand entertainment.

The wedding ring was worn on the third finger of the left hand, from an idea that a nerve communicated thence directly with the heart. It consisted, for a long time, in nothing more than a plain hoop of iron; but it was afterwards made of gold, or bronze, with various amatory mottoes and devices, and frequently with a small ornament in the form of a key, to denote that, with it, the husband delivered up the care of his house.

The bride's portion was paid at three instalments, which were fixed by law, and was either delivered in money or secured on landed property; and the husband was not allowed to alienate it. Among persons of rank, a part of the dowry was reserved for the separate use of the wife, and the lady frequently retained some slaves, as personal servants, who were considered as her private property, and under her sole control. The fortunes given with young ladies of the first distinction, in the early ages of the republic, were extremely moderate. It is recorded that Cn. Scipio, when in command of the army in Spain, applied for leave of absence, that he might provide for the marriage of his daughter; but the senate, rather

than be deprived of his services, took that care upon itself, and advanced the portion out of the public treasury: its amount was not quite equal to thirty-six pounds of our money! and yet, considering the motive for bestowing it, we may presume that it was not measured with a niggard hand. But in proportion as they were then small, they became enormous in the sequel; and Seneca remarks, that the sum with which the senate portioned the child of Scipio, would not, in his time, have been thought sufficient to provide the daughter of a freed-man with a mirror.*

A marriage was never solemnized without consulting the auspices, and offering sacrifices to the gods; particularly to Juno; and the animals immolated on the occasion, were deprived of their gall, in allusion to the absence of every thing bitter and malignant in the proposed union.

The ceremony was performed in three different modes, distinguished by the titles of “*Confarreatio*,” “*Coemptio*,” and “*Usage* ;” each of which, though distinct in point of form, was equally binding on the contracting parties.

Confarreatio was the most ancient. A priest, in the presence of ten witnesses, made an offering to the gods of a cake composed of salt, water, and

* Seneca, *de Consolat. ad Helvet.* c. 12.

that kind of flour called *Far*,* from which the name of the ceremony was derived. Of this the bride and bridegroom mutually partook, to denote the union that was to subsist between them; and the sacrifice of a sheep ratified the interchange of their vows. This mode of celebration conferred on the wife all the rights of adoption as a daughter; it gave her the privilege of assisting at the sacred rites peculiar to the household gods of her husband; it endowed her with his entire property, if he died intestate without issue; and if he left children, she shared equally with them.

Coemption was an imaginary purchase which the husband and wife made of each other, by the exchange of some pieces of money. This form subsisted longer than that of *confarreation*, which, according to Tacitus, was no longer practised in the reign of Tiberius: it seems to have conferred the same rights on the woman; and some authors say, that it was accompanied with similar ceremonies.

Usage was, in fact, nothing more than when a woman, with the consent of her parents, or guardians, had cohabited an entire year with a man, with the intention of becoming his wife. She was

* See chap. vii. p. 102.

then considered as being legally married to him; and it even appears, that she thereby acquired the same rights as either of the former ceremonies would have conferred. This form, besides, gave to the lady the power of annulling the marriage, if, during her twelvemonth's noviciate, she repented of her engagement; an advantage in which it is not quite clear that the intended husband participated.

It was not every day, nor even every month, that was deemed equally auspicious to the celebration of marriage. Maidens avoided the kalends, nones, and ides, and every day marked black in the kalendar: the month of February, because in it was commemorated the anniversary of all funeral obsequies; that of March, during the Salian feast;* and, above all, May.† June, on the contrary, was, of all months, considered the most propitious. But widows, whether more careful to improve the passing time, or less attentive to omens, of which the former connubial engagements of

* The Salian Feast was held in commemoration of the time when the shield of Mars was supposed to have fallen from the heavens.

† This superstition is said to have prevailed at a late period among the peasantry of lower Languedoc, who imagined that a marriage concluded in the month of May, would lead to the premature death of one of the parties.—*Astruc, Memoir l'Hist. Nat. du Languedoc*

many of them had, no doubt, proved the fallacy, considered every day as equally fortunate, and were married at all seasons.

On the morning of the wedding day, the bride appeared in a simple robe of pure white, bound with a zone of wool, which her husband alone was to loosen; her hair was braided with woollen threads in imitation of the vestals, and divided into six tresses, fastened at the extremities in a knot in the form of a javelin head, and was arranged with the iron of a pike; she wore a large saffron-coloured veil, which enveloped the entire person, and a chaplet of vervain, gathered by herself; her shoes were yellow, and had unusually high heels, to give her an appearance of greater dignity. Thus attired, she awaited the arrival of the bridegroom, who went, attended by a numerous party of friends, to carry her off, with an appearance of violence, from the arms of her mother, or other nearest female relative; either in commemoration of the rape of the Sabines, or to denote the reluctance she was supposed to feel on quitting the paternal dwelling for that of a husband. The nuptial ceremony was then performed. In the evening, she was conducted to her future home, preceded by the priests, and followed by her relations, friends, and servants, carrying presents

of various domestic utensils. She was also attended by three boys, whose parents were still alive, on two of whom she leaned, while the third walked before with a torch of pine-wood, which the friends of both parties carried off when they had arrived at the house, lest it should be employed in any witchery that might endanger the life of either. One young slave carried a covered vase containing her toilet, a child's coral and play-things, and another bore a distaff and spindle furnished with wool—both symbolical of her domestic pleasures, and her cares—while others were charged with the more important materials of her wardrobe. Among persons of condition, however, the procession moved in carriages, the bride being borne in a close litter, surrounded by a cavalcade of relations, and followed by a retinue of menials with blazing torches and bands of music—

“ While youthful dancers in a circle bound
To the soft flute and Cittern's silver sound ;
And through the streets the matrons in a row,
Stand in their porches and enjoy the show.”

The door of the bridegroom's house was hung with garlands of flowers in honor of the festive occasion ; and with wreaths of wool smeared with the fat of a hog, or a wolf, to protect it from witchcraft, the effect of which on the happiness of

the newly married pair was as anxiously guarded against as it was seriously dreaded. When the bride arrived, instead of being received with all the rapture that might be presumed, she was ceremoniously asked who she was! and was expected to answer, "I am Caia—" * to assure her husband that she would prove as notable as that celebrated house-wife; or she replied, addressing the bridegroom, "Where thou art Caius, there shall I be Caia,"—meaning, that where he was master there would she be mistress: a promise which she, no doubt, religiously performed. She was then carried over the threshold, both that she might appear to enter the house involuntarily, and as a presage that she would not quit it but in the same manner: the threshold was, besides, consecrated to the goddess of chastity, and it would have been esteemed a bad omen, were the bride to trample on it. She was sprinkled with water, to denote her virgin purity; and was made to touch both water and fire, along with her husband, to intimate that their union was to last through every extremity.

* This lady—also known by the name of *Tanaquil*—was the wife of one of the ancient kings; and was so remarkable for attention to the domestic duties, that her distaff was preserved for ages as a sacred relic, and her example was handed down to posterity as a pattern of housewifery.

Nuts were scattered among the children, and the bride consecrated her dolls to Venus, to denote that she relinquished childish amusements. The keys of the house were then delivered to her; a spotless lamb was shorn, and she was seated on the fleece, to remind her, once more, by that emblem, of her domestic duties.

The bridegroom then gave a grand supper to all the company: he was himself placed on the upper couch, and the bride reposed upon his breast. This entertainment was distinguished beyond all others by its elegance and profusion; and the sumptuary laws, which fixed bounds to the expense of other repasts, were relaxed in favor of those given on the occasion of a wedding. The fête was accompanied with music and dancing, and the guests sang an epithalamium in praise of the new-married couple. This commenced and finished with acclamations, in which the name of *Thalassius* was often repeated, from an old tradition, that among the Sabine women, carried off by the Romans, there was one of extraordinary beauty, whom the public voice decreed to *Thalassius*, a young man also remarkable for his personal graces, and for his courage; and their marriage proving singularly happy, his name was afterwards introduced into the nuptial songs,

coupled with wishes that a similar destiny might attend those in whose honor they were chaunted.

The bride was attended to her apartment by matrons who had been but once married. The room was ornamented with the statues of the divinities supposed to preside over matrimony; the bed—formed without curtains, in the manner of a modern couch—was strewed with flowers and placed in an alcove opposite the door, but was removed to another situation if it had already served on a similar occasion, lest the bride should be exposed to the misfortunes that might have befallen its former occupant; and the bridal rites were closed by a finale to the epithalamium, sung by the young females of the party, at the door of the bed-chamber.

CHAP. XXV.

ON THE LAWS OF DIVORCE.

Ancient Law—Instances of its Abuse—Its Consequences—
Laws against Adultery—Widows—Concubinage—Laws of
Divorce after the Introduction of Christianity.

MARRIAGE, among the Romans, was not indissoluble. By a law ascribed to Romulus, a husband might divorce his wife for several reasons besides that of having violated her conjugal faith : in which cases, he assembled a family council, consisting of the nearest relatives of the lady, to judge of her transgression ; and, if they found her culpable, a separation was obtained on his making oath before the censors that he demanded it for a legitimate cause.

By an abuse of this power, men were even permitted to repudiate their wives without assigning any real cause ; but were then bound, not only to refund the fortune they had received with them,

but to endow them, also, with a portion of their own. However equitable this might be so far as it regarded property, it was unjust inasmuch as it was not reciprocal; but the laws of the twelve tables subsequently gave a parity of rights to the wife, and the sex never afterwards lost an opportunity of asserting them. It has, indeed, been gravely related, that, on one occasion, when an unfounded report was maliciously circulated that a decree was about to be passed permitting men to have two wives, a deputation of matrons instantly waited on the Senate to claim the privilege of marrying two husbands.

The divorce was pronounced in the presence of seven witnesses, and inscribed on the registers of the Censors; the marriage contract was then destroyed, and the husband received back the keys which he had delivered to the wife on the wedding day. On his part, he restored her dowry, unless she had been guilty of infidelity, in which case he retained the whole; but, if criminal in a minor degree, only a part; and if they had children, they settled a portion of their joint fortune on them, by a testamentary deed which was irrevocable.

There were some additional forms of separation, each peculiar to the different rites by which the marriage had been contracted; but they all equally

ended in an unceremonious order to the lady, to —“ take up her property and depart.” *

It has been remarked, to the honor of the Romans, that more than four centuries elapsed without any suit among them for divorce, or complaint of adultery. That crime was first publicly noticed in the year 457 of the commonwealth, when some ladies were suspected of it, and condemned in fines, which were employed to build a temple to Venus. It was not until the year 521, of the same æra, that the first divorce took place; when one Carvilius Ruga repudiated his wife on account of sterility. He was said to be much attached to her; and he excused his conduct on the plea, that he was only induced to take that step out of respect to the oath which he, in common with his fellow-citizens, had taken—to marry for the purpose of having children; but, however specious the pretext, it did not fail to draw down upon him the public indignation of all Rome.

His example, however, was soon followed, and divorces afterwards took place upon the most frivolous pretences. One repudiated his wife for having appeared in public without a veil; another,

* The same custom is mentioned in the Scriptures.—*Deuteronomy*, ch. xxiv. v. 1.

because she was seen to whisper to a freedman; a third, in consequence of the lady having appeared at the theatre without his permission; and a fourth, assigned no other reason than—"no one knew where the buskin pinched but the wearer." Even Cato did not scruple to yield his wife Marcia, by whom he had several children, to his friend Hortensius; and he dying soon after, and constituting Marcia his sole heiress, to the exclusion of his son, Cato remarried her to possess himself of the fortune. Cicero divorced Terentia, on account, as he alleged, of her imperious temper and extravagance; although he had cohabited thirty years with her, and they had two children to whom he was most tenderly attached. He then married a young heiress to whom he had been guardian, and repudiated her also, within a short period, on the pretext of some family dispute. In fine, some men were base enough to marry women of light character, with a view to take advantage of their misconduct, and thus to possess themselves of their dowry, which, as we have already seen, was forfeited to the husband in cases of infidelity. Nor were the women slow in taking advantage of the privilege they also acquired of releasing themselves at pleasure from their bonds: they frequently deserted their husbands without cause, and contracted

new engagements which they broke with equal levity; insomuch, that a celebrated moralist remarked of them, “that they no longer counted the years by the names of the consuls, but by those of their different husbands.”* The slightest disgust, or even caprice, served as an excuse to either party to resort to this convenient expedient, which became so general, that St. Jerome mentions a Roman who had had *twenty wives*; and a lady *twenty-two husbands*!

But, either the pious indignation of the saint has exaggerated the fact, or the prevailing taste for variety had increased with its indulgence; for Juvenal, who wrote at a much earlier period,† and who certainly cannot be accused of extenuating the frailties of the fair sex, limits the inconstancy of the ladies of his time to a much smaller number:—

* Seneca, *De Benefic.* l. iii. c. 16. It was customary to designate any particular year by the names of the consuls who were then in office.

† St. Jerome wrote in the latter end of the fourth, and the beginning of the fifth centuries; Juvenal towards the close of the first, and in the early part of the second. The latter was cotemporary with Seneca, Tacitus, Pliny the Elder and Younger, Suetonius, Plutarch, Persius, and Martial; and was preceded—by about a century—by the historian Livy, and by Ovid, Virgil, and Horace.

“ Anon she sickens of her first domains,
And seeks for new ; husband on husband takes,
Till of her bridal veil one rent she makes.
Again she tires, again for change she burns,
And to the bed she lately left returns,
While the fresh garlands, and unfaded boughs,
Yet deck the portal of her wondering spouse.
Thus swells the list ; EIGHT HUSBANDS IN FIVE YEARS:
A rare inscription for their sepulchres ! ”

GIFFORD, *sat.* vi.

This facility of divorce had the most baleful effect on society: instead of encreasing the reciprocal attentions and complaisance of married persons, from a dread of its being resorted to, it encreased their dissensions, by removing the restraint which the necessity of passing their lives together might otherwise have imposed upon them; it destroyed that mutual confidence which forms the basis of happiness in the married state; and opened a wide field for discord, and irregularity of conduct. The emperor Augustus made some efforts to check it, by imposing certain penalties upon divorces without legitimate cause. He also promulgated an edict against adultery. We are ignorant of its precise tenor; but it would appear, that, besides the punishment of whipping, banishment, and in some cases, of mutilation, to which it exposed the parties, it added to the laws already

in force—which allowed the husband to put the wife and her paramour to death if surprised in the fact—permission to the father, also, of the woman, to kill her seducer. But however severe its enactments, and whatever the attention of Augustus to enforce them, they wanted the powerful aid of example; and his own irregularities were too notorious not to weaken the effect of a law which he was himself the first to infringe.*

Public opinion, however, which generally decides justly on points of morality, was unfavorable to divorces. Even second marriages, by widows, were not held in much respect; wherefore they were usually solemnized with but little parade, and publicity was as much shunned, on those occasions, as it was courted on the celebration of the espousals of a maiden. Widowhood, on the con-

* Augustus repudiated his wife, Scribonia, on the very day on which she was delivered of the afterwards celebrated and dissolute Julia. His object in this divorce, was, to marry Livia, then not only the wife of Tiberius Nero, but also, six months advanced in pregnancy. The lady's marriage was an impediment easily removed; but her situation might have opposed some legal difficulty, had not the pliant casuistry of the college of Pontiffs seconded the emperor's impatience. She became empress: but her child was duly restored to her former husband.

trary, was in such honor, that it commanded precedence in certain solemn ceremonies; the crown of chastity was decreed to it; and the title of *Univira* was engraved, as an eulogium, on the tombs of those matrons who remained faithful to their first vows. But, as the common actions of life, however meritorious, are seldom distinguished by extraordinary marks of consideration, and it is only when they are rare that they attract observation, we may infer from the honors paid to those widows who thus cherished the memory of their early loves, that their number was not large. They were prohibited from contracting another marriage during the period of their mourning; but if they transgressed in this particular, the fault was to be expiated by the sacrifice of an in-calf cow.

Widowers were not so restricted: they remarried when they pleased; but many, without any libertine intention, and solely out of consideration for their children, and to avoid giving them a step-mother and co-heirs, contracted a kind of half-marriage, which was recognised by the Roman law, under the title of *concubinage*. The offspring of such a connexion were not, indeed, considered legitimate, with respect to the succession to property; but neither were they reputed spurious;

nor was their mother looked upon as infamous; and they were competent to fill public employments, from which illegitimate children were excluded. But this indulgence was never extended so far as to authorise polygamy; and even a plurality of concubines, though connived at by the licence of the times, was strictly prohibited by law. Plutarch, indeed, observes, that Mark Antony was the *first* Roman who emancipated himself from this restraint, and married *two wives*:* but he cites no other instance in support of the inference which might be drawn from the manner in which he expresses himself—that others had followed the example; and, as the allusion is to his marriage with Cleopatra, which was not solemnized at Rome, it cannot be considered as a case strictly in point. Besides, as no ceremony could legalize such marriages, they could not confer any rights on the offspring; and, if they ever took place, they were void in law, and did not effect its regulations: but we do not find that they subjected the parties to any punishment.

It is remarkable, that notwithstanding Christianity became the religion of the State in the year of our Lord 311, yet the law which sanctioned di-

* Plut. in *Vit. Ant.*

vorce, at the pleasure of either party, continued in force until the year 450, when some restrictions were imposed on the extreme facility with which it had till then been allowed, and the legitimate causes of separation were defined. However, the reasons for which it was still permitted, were so numerous, were afterwards so frequently modified, and so variously construed, and gave rise to so much litigation, that, in the year 570, the emperor Justin II. restored the law of divorce by mutual consent; and marriage remained thus dissoluble until the fall of the Roman Empire.

CHAP. XXVI.

ON FUNERAL RITES.

Inhumation—Custom of Burning the Dead—Attentions to the Dying—The last Obsequies—Sepulture—The Funeral Pyre—Sacrifices—Gladiatorial Combats—Mourning—Tombs—Monumental Inscriptions.

THE simple affections of nature, independently of all civil and moral obligations, have, in every stage of society, dictated the last attentions to the remains of departed friends. Neither law nor religion has prescribed the forms in which they are paid. They grow out of sentiments of public decorum and private regard, and, springing rather from the heart than from the mind, are sanctioned by one common feeling; while the solemnity by which they are surrounded guards them from the innovations to which the less impressive actions of life are exposed. Thus, they survive the common usages of society; exist when other customs coeval with them have ceased; and are but slowly exchanged for newer ceremonies.

During the greater part of the commonwealth, the only mode of disposing of the dead, among the Romans, was by inhumation. At a very

remote period, it is said to have been customary with them, to inter the chief persons in a family in their own houses; to which has been attributed much of that superstitious awe of departed spirits which formed so prominent a feature in the Roman character. But the fact itself, not only rests upon rather weak authority, but is in contradiction with one of their most settled prejudices; and the consequence deduced from it may, with more probability, be attributed to the form of their religion, and to that bias of the mind, to dwell on supernatural objects, which seems to belong to all unenlightened ages.

The custom of burning the dead, though very anciently practised among the Greeks, and of great antiquity among the Romans, was not generally adopted by the latter until towards the close of the republic; but it afterwards became universal, and was continued uninterruptedly until the introduction of Christianity, soon after which it gradually fell into disuse.

Although the anxious solicitude with which affection guards departing friends—immutable as our nature, and uninfluenced by the vicissitudes of fashion—has been the same in every age and every clime, yet, the very impulse which directs it has given birth to various forms, as final demonstrations of respect and tokens of regard. Among the

Romans, the bed of the dying was never abandoned to hireling attendants, but was surrounded by relatives and intimates, who lavished every endearing attention due to the melancholy occasion. As life began to ebb, they, in succession, and in accents of the deepest sorrow, bade a long farewell to their expiring friend; and, when the last awful moment approached, the nearest relation present closed the eyes, while, from an idea that the soul was exhaled in the last sigh, he bent over the body to catch the parting breath. The corpse was then bathed and perfumed; dressed in the most costly robes belonging to the deceased; and laid out in the vestibule,* on a couch strewed with flowers, with the feet towards the outward door, which was shaded with branches of cypress.

From that strange mixture of celestial attributes and earthly propensities in which the heathen mythology clothed its deities, it was a received opinion, that Charon would not convey the departed spirit across the Styx without payment of

* “*The vestibule*” must not be understood in the modern acceptation of the term. It was, in fact, an open space, within the inclosure of the outer wall, but before the house itself:—“*locus vacuus ante Januam domûs, per quem à viâ ad Ædes itur.*” Aul. Gell. *l. xvi. c. 5.*—See *chap. xii. p. 179.*

an ancient toll, to which he had become entitled by long established usage: a small coin was, in consequence, placed in the mouth of the deceased, to satisfy the demand of the stern ferryman.

The funeral took place by torch-light. The corpse was carried, with the feet foremost, on an open bier covered with the richest cloth, and borne by the nearest relatives and most distinguished friends. The procession was regulated by a director of the ceremonies, attended by lictors dressed in black, and bearing their fasces inverted; and, if the deceased had been a military man, the insignia of his rank were displayed, and the corps to which he had belonged marched in the train with their arms reversed. The body was preceded by the image of the deceased, together with those of his ancestors; then went musicians with wind-instruments of a larger size and deeper tone than those used on less solemn occasions, and mourning women who were hired to sing his praises; before whom were dancers and buffoons, one of whom represented the character of the dead man, and endeavoured to imitate his manner when alive. The family of the deceased followed the bier in deep mourning; the sons with their heads covered, the daughters unveiled and with their hair dishevelled; magistrates without their badges,

and patricians without their ornaments : his freedmen, with the cap of liberty on their heads, closed the procession.

The obsequies of persons of rank were distinguished by a funeral oration in their honor, which was pronounced over the body by some near friend. This ceremony took place in the forum, and was, during the republic, a mark of consideration conferred only on distinguished personages, and by order of the senate ; but, under the emperors, it became general, as a tribute of private respect and affection, and was bestowed on women as well as men.

While the practice of sepulture prevailed, the body was either interred without a coffin, or deposited in a sarcophagus, the form of which was that of a deep chest. On the conclusion of the ceremony, the sepulchre was strewed with flowers, and the mourners took a last farewell of the honored remains. The attendants were then sprinkled with water, by a priest, to purify them from the pollution which the ancients supposed to be communicated by any contact with a corpse ; and all were dismissed.

When the custom of burning the body was introduced, a funeral pyre, of wood and other combustible materials, was raised in the semblance

of an altar, on which the bier was placed, with the corpse outstretched upon it, and the eyes opened. The procession then moved slowly round to the sound of solemn music, while the mourning matrons, who attended—

“ With baleful cypress and blue fillets crown’d,
With eyes dejected, and with hair unbound,”

chaunted a requiem to the deceased; and the nearest relative, advancing from the train with a lighted torch, and averting his face from the body, set fire to the awful pile. Perfumes and spices were then thrown into the blaze by the surrounding friends, and, when the fire was extinguished, the embers were quenched with wine. The ashes were then collected, and enclosed in an urn of costly workmanship, which was afterwards deposited in the mausoleum of the family. When the solemnities were in honor of a man of high rank, they were accompanied with much military pomp; and, if a soldier, his arms, and the spoils he had taken from the enemy, were added to the funeral fire.

It was a received opinion among the ancients, that the manes of the deceased were propitiated by blood: wherefore it was always their custom to slaughter, on the tomb of the deceased, those animals to which he was, while living, most at-

tached; and, in the more remote and barbarous ages, men were the victims of this horrid superstition:—

“ Arms, trappings, horses—by the hearse were led
In long array—the achievements of the dead.
Then pinion'd, with their hands behind, appear
The unhappy captives, marching in the rear,
Appointed offerings in the victor's name,
To sprinkle with their blood the funeral flame.”

Dryden's Virg. Æn. b. xi.

Nor were these human sacrifices always confined to captives taken in war; domestic slaves were sometimes immolated to their masters, and there are instances on record of friends having thus devoted themselves from motives of affection. In process of time, this savage rite gave way to one scarcely less revolting, and in lieu of it, they adopted that of the gladiatorial combats, which continued, until their final abolition, to form part of the last solemnities.*

The period of mourning, on the part of men, or of distant relatives, was short. Widows were bound to mourn for their husbands during *an entire year*. But the edict which ordained this outward demonstration of respect to the memory of their deceased lords, was promulgated when the

* See Pliny's Letters, b. iv. ep. 2, and b. vi. ep. 34.

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year consisted of only ten lunar months; and the widows—doubtless nourishing in their bosoms “that grief which passeth show”—were ever satisfied to construe the law according to its strictest acceptation. Their mourning, therefore, lasted, in fact, only nine calendar months, during which time they laid aside every kind of ornament, and dressed—during the time of the republic, in black; but afterwards, in white.

Neither sepulture, nor the more common obsequies, were allowed within the walls of the city, except to the vestal virgins, and to some families of high distinction whose ancestors had acquired that privilege as a public testimony of their services to the state. This prohibition was not alone dictated by precaution for the health of the inhabitants, or for the safety of the town, which might have been endangered, either by putrid exhalations from the interred bodies, or by the flames of funeral fires; but, also, by an idea, very generally entertained by the nations of antiquity, that the place in which a corpse was deposited was defiled.

The tombs of military men, and of persons of rank, were usually raised in the field of Mars, and those of individuals of more private station, in the gardens of their villas; or, frequently, by the side of the public road, that thus their remains

might attract the observation, and their spirit receive the valediction, of the passing traveller. Many of these ancient sepulchres still exist, graven with various monumental inscriptions recording the virtues of the deceased, and the respect of surviving friends: those on the splendid mausoleums of the great generally display a pompous detail of the titles and the qualities by which they were distinguished, and are often but faithless memorials of their real character; while the more simple effusions of affection on the lowly tombs of the humble, seldom contain more than a memento to the reader of his own mortality, and to the dead, the artless wish—"may the earth lie light on thee!"—

"Shades of our sires! O sacred be your rest,
And lightly lie the turf upon your breast!
Flowers round your urns breathe sweets beyond compare,
And spring eternal shed its influence there!"

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THE END.

ERRATA.

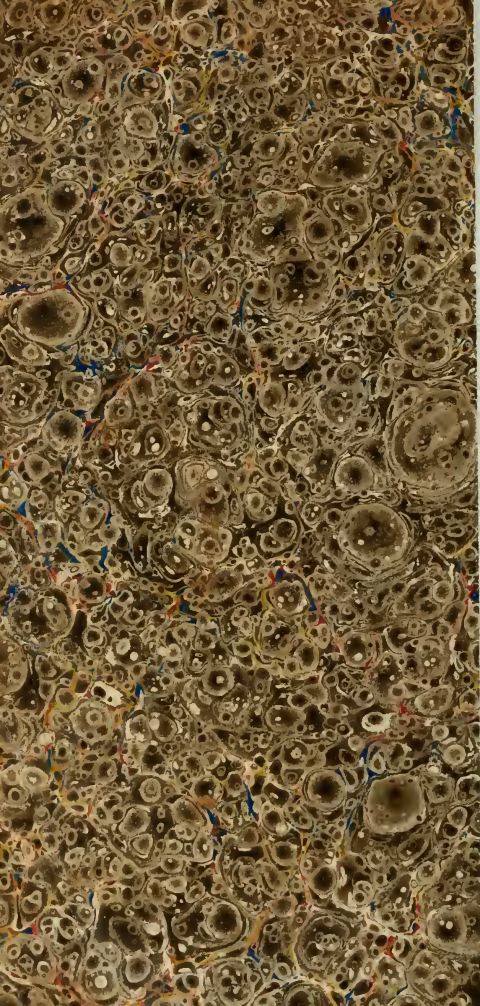
- Page 59, *Note, for Galls, read Gauls.*
 — 42, Line 12, *for offender read offenders.*
 — 43, — 7, *for Elder, read Elders.*
 — 5, — 26, *for hereditaray, read hereditary.*
 — 108, — 13, *for occasion, read occasioned.*
 — 138, — 26, *for Benenikè, read Berenikè.*
 — 216, — 1, *for Thermus, read Thermæ.*
 — — — *for was read were.*
 — — — 4, *for its read their.*
 — — — 7, *for it read they.*
 — 327, — 15, *for picta, purpurea, and palmata, read pictæ, purpuræ, and palmatæ.*
 — 330, — 6, *for Augusticlavia, read Angusticlavia, and for the words Augusticlave, in that and the following page, read Angusticlave.*

A few palpable typographical errors, and omissions of punctuation, will, doubtless, be corrected by the reader.









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HR

Author [Hill, H.D.]

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